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КАВКАЗСКАГО ОТДѢЛА
ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО
РУССКАГО ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКАГО ОБЩЕСТВА

КНИЖКА XVI

MÉMOIRES
DE LA SECTION CAUCASIENNE
DE LA SOCIETE IMPERIALE RUSSE DE GÉOGRAPHIE.

LIVRE XVI.

Тифлисъ.
Типографія: Груз. Изд. Товарищ. и К. П. Козловскаго.
1894.

Подъ редакціею Дѣйствительныхъ Членовъ Кавказскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русск. Географич. Общ. Н. К. Зейдлица и Е. И. Кондратенко.

Печатано по распоряженію Кавказскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества.

1: Dzhanashvili R13 Abkhaz R13

ОТЪ РЕДАКЦІИ.

Г. М. Г. Джанашвили, въ своей компилятивной статьѣ „Абхазія и абхазцы", помѣщенной въ настоящей, XVI, кн. „Записокъ Отдѣла", вводя абхазскія и грузинскія слова, изображалъ ихъ буквами русскаго алфавита, съ присоединеніемъ къ нимъ, въ видахъ нѣсколько болѣе точнаго выраженія произношенія этихъ словъ, двухъ буквъ французской азбуки (h и q) и одной буквы грузинской (Ⴜ). Буква h введена авторомъ для обозначенія, что та буква русской азбуки, около которой будетъ стоять h, должна произноситься съ придыханіемъ; буква q—предназначена для выраженія глубоко-гортаннаго *к*, а буква грузинская Ⴜ—для выраженія звука нѣсколько подходящаго къ сочетанію русскихъ буквъ *т* и *ц*. По просьбѣ г. Джанашвили, упустившаго объ этомъ разъяснить въ его предисловіи, редакція, въ устраненіе недоразумѣній, могущихъ явиться при чтеніи статьи „Абхазія и абхазцы", ставитъ въ извѣстность читателей.

Г. Н. М. Альбовъ, авторъ статьи—„Ботанико-географическія изслѣдованія въ Западномъ Закавказьи", составляющей предварительное сообщеніе его, прочитанное имъ въ общемъ собраніи Кавказскаго Отдѣла Географическаго Общества и помѣщенное въ настоящей, XVI, кн. „Записокъ Отдѣла",—проситъ насъ сдѣлать извѣстнымъ, что предположеніе его, высказанное имъ въ этой статьѣ, основанное на приблизительныхъ наблюденіяхъ, будто известняки, флору на которыхъ онъ изучалъ въ Западномъ Закавказьи, есть юрскіе, не оправдалось, послѣ изслѣдованія въ Новороссійскомъ университетѣ породъ известняковъ, собранныхъ г. Альбовымъ въ названной части края.

Редакція, желая пополнить ботанико-географическія свѣдѣнія о западной части Закавказья, помѣстила въ настоящей книжкѣ „Записокъ", съ разрѣшенія г. Дика, ботаника и садовладѣльца въ Саксоніи, въ переводѣ, пять его статей, большею частью посвященныхъ имъ путешествію его въ этой части края. Такой-же трудъ (ботанико-географическій) о Западномъ Закавказьи гг. Сомье и Левье, ботаниковъ во Флоренціи, редакція, заручившись согласіемъ названныхъ ученыхъ, предполагаетъ помѣстить въ слѣдующей книжкѣ „Извѣстій".

Абхазія и абхазцы.

(Этнографическій очеркъ)

ПРЕДИСЛОВІЕ.

Абхазцы извѣстны съ древнихъ временъ: Плиній (29—79 по Р. Х.) называетъ ихъ абсилами (absilae), Арріанъ (100—160 по Р. Х.)—апсилами (αψιλαι), древнія лѣтописи Грузіи—апhшил'ами (апhшили) и апhсар'ами (апhсари). Сами абхазцы называютъ себя апhсуа, а свою страну—Апhсн; нынѣшніе грузины называютъ ихъ различно: абхази, апхази, апhхази.

Изъ сравненія этихъ именъ видно, что этническое названіе абхазцевъ образовалось изъ апс, абс, апhс, апhш. Въ кавказскихъ языкахъ звуки б, п, пh, м, в, также с, ш, весьма часто замѣняютъ другъ друга. Вотъ нѣсколько примѣровъ: а-м-сэба=а-в-сэба =ап-h-шэвhа, что значитъ наполнять; сули=шури, душа; м-равали =б равали=б-рали=пh-рэли, множество; п-ризэ=б-ризэ и пр. Итакъ, тождество абс, апс, апhс и абш, апс, апhш несомнѣнно. Что-же значитъ абс или апhш?

Прежде всего нужно сказать, что въ абхазскомъ языкѣ существительнымъ именамъ предшествуетъ „а", соотвѣтствующее значенію члена le и la во французскомъ языкѣ. Это „а" въ словосочетаніи часто выпадаетъ. Возьмемъ, для примѣра, одинаковыя слова, какъ въ грузинскомъ, такъ и въ абхазскомъ языкѣ:

грузинскія:	абхазскія:	
кhалакhи	а—кhалакh	городъ
натhла	а—натhра	крещеніе
камбечи	а—камбаш	буйволъ
нана	а—нан	мать
кhартвузли	а—кhартвуа	грузинъ
леки	а—лек	дагестанецъ
каба	а—каба	платье

грузинскія:	абхазскія:	
калтhа	а—калтhа	фалды
хэрхи	а—хуархи	пила
макратэли	а—макратил	ножницы
кибэ	а—киба	лѣстница
гэмо	а—гэма	вкусъ
кhваби	а—кhваб	котелъ
угhэли (угhу, сванское)	а—угhу	ярмо
гули (гуи, сванское)	а—гу	сердце
зари	а—зар	плачъ, рыданіе

Нерѣдко и грузинскій языкъ прибѣгаетъ къ такому-же способу образованія существительныхъ изъ глагольныхъ корней, съ добавленіемъ къ концу именъ вспомогательнаго глагола ли или ари *) (3-е лицо един. числа изъяв. накл., значитъ—есть). Напр. дэг или дги значитъ—стой, крѣпись; а-дэг или а-дги—вставай; а-дги-ли—твердь, земля, суша. Также: нусхэ—считай, м-нусхэ-ли—считающій, а-м-нусхэ-ли—счетоводъ.

Итакъ, мы имѣемъ въ корнѣ только пhс или пhш, что на многихъ кавказскихъ языкахъ, не исключая языковъ абхазскаго и грузинскаго, имѣетъ многоразличныя родственныя значенія рѣки, воды, влаги, души, источника и пр. По-черкесски, напр., пhдзэ или пhсе значитъ рѣка, вода; по-грузински: пhша,—рѣка, рѣчка, ключевая вода; пhшэ-на или пhши-нва—дыханіе, вздохъ, запахъ; м-пhшуэни—дышащій, душа, духъ; пhса -лить, пhсэли—урина; по-абхазски: апhс—душа, апhша вѣтеръ, воздухъ; адзи ([illegible])—вода, рѣка, ручей; адзи-хи—источникъ: адзи-жи--озеро, амшин—море, и т. д.

Извѣстно, что многіе древніе народы свои названія получили отъ тѣхъ водъ, на берегахъ которыхъ они жили. Припомнимъ, напр., хоть изъ древне-славянской исторіи—поморянъ, полабовъ, бужанъ и друг. **).

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*) ари—есть; въ грузинскомъ языкѣ и его діалектахъ этотъ глаголъ является то въ формѣ а (напр. каци-а=человѣкъ есть) то въ формѣ ли (ара-ли=не-есть), то ри или рэ (ахло-рэ=близко есть). Изъ нихъ въ грузинскомъ преобладаетъ употребленіе формы ари, въ мингрельскомъ—рэ, ри, ро, въ сванскомъ—ли, арц, въ абхазскомъ—л, р.

**) ,,Расселяясь по Европѣ, славяне дали рѣкамъ тѣ древнѣйшія названія, вынесенныя ими съ востока, которыя изначала употреблялись, какъ нарицательныя имена рѣки или воды вообще. Такъ, названія: Сава, Драва, Одра (Одеръ), Ра, Упа, Ока, Донъ, Дунай, Двина—арійскаго происхожденія и имѣютъ въ санскритѣ родственныя себѣ формы и кор-

Тоже самое мы видимъ и въ Грузіи, гдѣ, въ большинствѣ случаевъ, названія провинцій и племенъ, населяющихъ ихъ, образовались изъ понятій, означающихъ рѣку, источникъ, озеро, воду и пр. Такъ, напр., Дча значитъ источникъ, колодезь, рѣка; дча-ри=рѣчной, а-дчари=Адчара (въ турецкой Грузіи - Аджарія); дчари=(рѣчной)=Дчарская область (въ Закаталахъ); дча-ни значитъ ключи. рѣки, - дчан-этhи=Дчанетія (грузинское названіе всей турецкой Грузіи); дчарохи=р. Дчорохъ; дча-ла, роща, рѣка, —дчала-диди=Дчаладиди (буквально „большая рѣка“).

Пhша=рѣчка, Пhша-этhи=Пшавія; Пhша=рѣка около Гори, рѣка въ Гуріи, въ Аджаріи и въ другихъ мѣстахъ; Абаша (древн. Апhша)=рѣка въ Имеретіи; Пhасиси (древн. пhсиси)=рѣка Пhазъ, Пhасъ (буквально - рѣчной: пhасиси—родит. пад.).

Отъ этого-же корня происходитъ а-пhши-ли, какъ изъ „дги“ а-дги-ли. Въ буквальномъ переводѣ „а-пhши-ли“ должно означать: ,,рѣчной‘‘. Такимъ образомъ, въ названіяхъ апhшили пhшаэли (пшавецъ) и Абашэли=Абшэли (житель береговъ р. Абаши) я нахожу полнѣйшее сходство. Тоже самое значитъ и слово Абсари. гдѣ, вмѣсто существительнаго глагола али, стоитъ другая его форма ари (Абс-ари=Абс-али); а такъ какъ грузинскія ари, али и сокращенно ри, ли въ абхазскомъ языкѣ переходятъ въ ,,а‘‘ и ,,уа‘‘ (Кhартhу-али=акhиртhу-а, грузинъ, гурули=а-гура-а, гуріецъ, мэ-грэ-ли=а-гру-а, мингрелецъ), то мы и имѣемъ абсуа=абхазецъ, т. е. грузинское абшэ-ли (абхазецъ)=равнозначащее абхазскому абсу-а.

Отъ этого-же корня происходятъ названія многихъ рѣчекъ въ Абхазіи, как-то: Пhшица (рукавъ Бзыби), Пhшандра (около сел. Лыхны), р. Пhсцэ, р. Хашу-Пhсэ, р. Пhсбу, Туа-пhсэ и пр.

ни съ указаннымъ общимъ значеніемъ: dhuni, dhOni (рѣка) доселѣ удерживаетъ свой первоначальный смыслъ на Кавказѣ, гдѣ у осетинъ формы дун и дон означаютъ всякую рѣку и воду; у славянъ-же Донъ перешло въ собственное имя, а форма дун съ окончаніемъ авъ образовала: Дунавъ, а потомъ Дунай. Слово Дунай, служащее собственнымъ именемъ извѣстной рѣки, до сихъ поръ употребляется и какъ нарицательное для всякихъ большихъ и малыхъ рѣкъ. Примѣры можно видѣть въ галицкихъ и польскихъ пѣсняхъ: „за рѣками—за дунаями“ (Аѳанасьевъ. Поэтическія воззрѣнія славянъ на природу, II, 220)

Сами единоплеменные абхазцамъ черкесы, называемые туземцами адзихи, адзиги, адзеги, получили свое названіе отъ того-же корня дзи или дзэ, что̀ означаетъ воду, рѣку, море. По-черкесски, какъ мы выше сказали, пhсэ или пhдве значитъ вода, рѣка; тоже самое значитъ и въ грузинскомъ и абхазскомъ языкахъ. Кромѣ того, въ этихъ послѣднихъ языкахъ изъ того-же корня образовались слова згhуа или дзугhва (въ грузинскомъ, мингрельскомъ и сванскомъ), что̀ значитъ море, адзижи (по-абхазски) озеро, адзихи (по-абхазски-же) источникъ, ключевая вода. Вотъ откуда адзихи (черкесы) и стали называться таковымъ именемъ. Точно также слово шапhсуги съ грузинскаго буквально значитъ рѣчной, у водъ живущій (ша-пhсу-ги=са-пhсу-ги=са-пhшу-ги въ переводѣ значитъ „где вода—тамъ").

Интереснѣе всего другое грузинское слово тба, что̀ значитъ озеро. Это слово въ древнихъ письменныхъ памятникахъ и. нынѣ, въ мингрельскомъ діалектѣ встрѣчается и произносится одинаково—тоба; сваны-же произносятъ его—тибар и иногда тубар, что̀ означаетъ и озеро, и глубокое ущелье и, вообще, глубокую ложбину. Уже въ датированныхъ памятникахъ X вѣка мы встрѣчаемъ названіе древней грузинской провинціи Тбэтhи, въ центрѣ которой нынѣ красуются развалины знаменитой Тбетской церкви, построенной Ашотомъ Кухомъ († 918 г.). Тбэтhа значитъ „озерье", „озера"; Тбэли и тобэли значитъ „озерецъ" *), озерный, при озерѣ находящійся или живущій. А между грузинскимъ Тобэли и библейскимъ Тhобэли, которыя на картахъ Киперта занимаютъ какъ-разъ то мѣсто, гдѣ находится грузинская провинція Тобэтhа (Тобэли), я не нахожу никакой разницы.

Этихъ Тhобэловъ греко-римскіе писатели иногда именуютъ Тибарэнами, а это названіе есть тоже грузинское Тобэли сванскаго произношенія „Тибар". Во множественномъ числѣ изъ этого слова мы имѣемъ „Тибарэни", т. е. Тибарцы—озерцы. Гекатей (около 550 г. до Р. Хр.) называетъ ихъ Типаниси (Типаниссэ), что̀ стоитъ въ родит. пад. множ. числа и переводится съ грузинскаго словомъ „озерные". Типаниси, Тибарены греко-римскими писателями считаются народомъ, родственнымъ Мосхамъ и Колхамъ. Отъ этого же корня мы имѣемъ теперь множество на-

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*) „Тбэли" (по мингрельскому произношенію „тобэли") есть титулъ Тбэтскихъ епископовъ съ 918 года.

званій, какъ-то: Тобарозани (озеристый), озеро Тапаравань; Тобаніэри (озерный), селеніе въ Имеретіи (около Кутаиса); Тоба-qурэ (озеро-бухта), селеніе въ Мингреліи; Диди-тба, великое озеро, около Царскихъ Колодцевъ; Тубанис-тба, озерное-озеро, въ Ахалкалакскомъ уѣздѣ; Тqэ-тоба (лѣсъ-озеро), въ Закатальскомъ округѣ и друг.

Оставляя за собою право въ другой разъ вернуться къ болѣе подробному выясненію своего взгляда на происхожденіе этническихъ названій картвельскаго племени, перехожу къ изложенію краткаго историческаго очерка Абхазіи.

Лѣтописи Грузіи, достовѣрность и древность которыхъ отвергались покойнымъ К. П. Паткановымъ, но вполнѣ подтверждаются вновь найденной грузинской хроникой первой половины X вѣка, свидѣтельствуютъ, что распространителемъ христіанства въ Абхазіи былъ Симонъ Кананитъ, прибывшій въ Грузію, вмѣстѣ съ апостоломъ Андреемъ. Оба апостола вступили въ Аджарію, откуда Андрей направился къ Месхетіи (къ Ахалциху), а Симонъ Кананитъ въ Имеретію и Абхазію. Хотя послѣдній сдѣлался здѣсь жертвою язычниковъ, но брошенныя имъ сѣмена христіанства не погибли безслѣдно: по истеченіи 2—3 вѣковъ, они взошли, и языческій міръ просіялъ свѣтомъ христіанскаго ученія. На мѣстѣ, гдѣ былъ убитъ Симонъ Кананитъ, былъ воздвигнутъ храмъ, который и до нашего времени привлекаетъ множество богомольцевъ.

О христіанствѣ въ Абхазіи и Грузіи мы имѣемъ свѣдѣнія и изъ греко-римскихъ писателей. Такъ, напр., Прокопій, писатель конца VI вѣка, говоритъ: „Христіанство нигдѣ такъ чисто не сохраняется, какъ въ Иверіи". Далѣе: „Съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ царствуетъ Юстиніанъ Августъ, нравы абхазцевъ замѣтно смягчились, потому что они приняли христіанство. Юстиніанъ послалъ къ нимъ одного изъ своихъ евнуховъ — Евфрата, абхазца по рожденію, съ цѣлью воспрещать князьямъ производить кастратовъ. Юстиніанъ же воздвигъ у абазговъ храмъ Божіей Матери и назначилъ въ него священниковъ; онъ позаботился, чтобы послѣдніе распространяли христіанство" *). Указываемый Прокопіемъ храмъ Божіей Матери есть знаменитый Бичвинтскій (Пицундскій) храмъ, который съ древнѣйшаго времени игралъ видную роль не только въ религіозной, но и въ политической жизни абхазцевъ. Эриставъ абхаз-

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*) Histoire de la Géorgie, par Brosset, St. Pétersb. 1856, 4°, II, p. 240.

скій Леонъ II, пользуясь ослабленіемъ Грузіи послѣ двукратнаго нашествія арабскаго воинства, отложился отъ царя Грузіи Джуаншера и принялъ титулъ царя абхазскаго въ 786 году. Столицей царства онъ избралъ Вичвинту, гдѣ уже святительствовали католикосы. Самостоятельность абхазскаго царства продлилась всего два вѣка. Царь Грузіи Давидъ Великій, будучи бездѣтенъ, усыновилъ себѣ Баграта III (980—1014), родившагося отъ супружества Гургена, наслѣдника грузинскаго престола, съ дочерью Георгія II, царя абхазскаго, Гурандухтою. А такъ какъ мужеская линія царей абхазскихъ, со смертію слѣпого царя Ѳеодосія II, пресѣклась, то царство абхазское, по праву ближайшаго родства съ этимъ домомъ, вмѣстѣ съ удѣлами Багратидовъ Самцхійскихъ, было соединено съ грузинскимъ, и Багратъ III принялъ титулъ царя грузинскаго и абхазскаго. Съ этого-же времени католикосы Мцхетскіе стали титуловаться католикосами „всея Грузіи“ и иногда „всея Грузіи и Абхазіи“. Въ цвѣтущій періодъ грузинской исторіи (съ X по XII вѣкъ) вся Абхазія и особенно береговыя части ея покрылись городами, монастырями, церквами и укрѣпленными замками. Съ конца XV вѣка, т. е. по паденіи Византіи и утвержденіи на Софійскомъ храмѣ вмѣсто креста—полумѣсяца, въ Абхазіи, мало-по-малу, распространилось магометанство, чему еще болѣе содѣйствовало то обстоятельство, что Грузія, ослабленная и разоренная въ многовѣковой борьбѣ съ монголами и затѣмъ съ персами и турками, въ XV-мъ же вѣкѣ распалась на три царства (кахетинское, карталинское и имеретинское) и пять княжествъ (самцхійское, сванског, мингрельское, абхазское и гурійское); при этомъ турки покорили Аджарію и стали въ ней распространять магометанство. Въ это время и кавказскіе горцы (лезгины, чеченцы, сѣверные осетины, черкесы и др.) измѣнили христіанству и приняли магометанство. Грузія, со всѣхъ сторонъ окруженная магометанствомъ, съ трудомъ, но еще сохраняла свою вѣру; но слабая и маленькая Абхазія этого не могла сдѣлать: магометанское ученіе сильно распространилось въ ней и совершенно поглотило-бы христіанство, еслибы грузины своевременно не пригласили сѣвернаго колосса на защиту всѣхъ древнихъ аборигеновъ Кавказа.

Источниками и пособіями при составленіи настоящаго этнографическаго очерка Абхазіи послужили автору слѣдующія статьи абхазцевъ: 1. „Абхазія и абхазцы“, этнографическій очеркъ П. Гіоргадзе, помѣщенный въ „Иверіи“ за 1888 г.; 2. „Абхазія“

этнографическій очеркъ К. Мадчаваріани, въ газетѣ ,,Дроэба“ 1884—1885 гг.; 3. ,,Очеркъ абхазской миѳологіи“, Званбая, ,,Кавказъ“ за 1867 г., номера 74, 75 и 76; 4. ,,Религіозныя вѣрованія абхазцовъ“, А., въ ,,Сборникѣ свѣдѣній о кавказскихъ горцахъ“, вып. V, и 5. ,,Экономическое положеніе туземнаго населенія Сухумскаго отдѣла“, его-же, въ томъ-же „Сборникѣ“, вып. VI.

М. Джанашвили.

25 апрѣля 1892 года.
Г. Тифлисъ.

Абхазія и абхазцы.

I.

Абхазецъ.—Его характеръ.—Грабежи, нападенія и воровство.—Краснорѣчіе абхазца.—Месть за кровь.—Любовь къ родинѣ.—Гостепріимство, вѣжливость и привѣтливость.—Честность.—Выгода.—Народныя игры.—Поэзія.

Абхазецъ—средняго роста, худощавый, смуглый, съ черными волосами и глазами горецъ. Онъ безстрашенъ, смѣлъ и гордъ, но, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, непостояненъ и чрезвычайно вспыльчивъ. На ряду съ природною даровитостью, красотой и, вообще, симпатичными сторонами характера, въ немъ проявляется немало и отрицательныхъ чертъ, о которыхъ мы скажемъ ниже.

Абхазцы съ древнѣйшихъ временъ слывутъ за самыхъ безстрашныхъ и смѣлыхъ разбойниковъ. Они постоянно дѣлали набѣги на сосѣдей, грабили ихъ и опустошали. Впрочемъ, грабежи и набѣги—это общая черта всѣхъ вообще горцевъ. „Внѣ грабежа и набѣговъ жизнь не въ жизнь горцу", говоритъ въ своемъ сочиненіи Сергѣй Мечъ. Въ этой чертѣ горца—вся его поэзія, все украшеніе его существованія. Одинъ только тигръ можетъ сравниться съ горцемъ въ неожиданности и быстротѣ нападенія въ глухую, темную ночь на спящее селеніе. Идя на добычу, горецъ увѣренъ, что его ничто не выдастъ и не измѣнитъ ни кинжалъ, который у него всегда въ ножнахъ, ни блескъ ружья, завернутаго въ чахолъ, ни мягкая неслышная поступь ноги, обутой въ лапоть, ни хорошо-обученный для ночной ѣзды конь, ни его, наконецъ, языкъ, шипящіе звуки котораго напоминаютъ шелестъ листьевъ.... Съ глазами, налитыми кровью, съ кинжаломъ въ одной и пистолетомъ въ другой рукѣ, съ страшнымъ гикомъ бросается горецъ въ битву и въ это время забываетъ все, кромѣ побѣды.... Таковы абхазцы и ихъ сосѣди.

Абхазецъ и понынѣ считаетъ воровство удальствомъ, героизмомъ и чуть ли не такою-же необходимостью, какъ пища и питье. Этимъ недугомъ одинаково страдаютъ, отъ мала до велика, всѣ абхазцы—мужчины, женщины и дѣти, а высшее абхазское сословіе обратило его даже въ постоянное свое ремесло. Мѣняются времена и обстоятельства, поколѣнія за поколѣніями медленно, но постоянно вносятъ въ абхазскую жизнь новыя культурныя начала,—и одно лишь воровство неизмѣнно остается излюбленнымъ занятіемъ абхазца, какъ-бы освященное авторитетомъ сѣдой старины....

Впрочемъ, что тутъ удивительнаго? Абхазецъ, будучи еще ребенкомъ, неотразимо подчиненъ окружающимъ его обстоятельствамъ и всевозможнымъ стихійнымъ воздѣйствіямъ. Сообразно этимъ внѣшнимъ стихійнымъ или внутреннимъ нравственнымъ вліяніямъ, онъ и поступаетъ, дѣлаясь взрослымъ человѣкомъ. Какія-же воздѣйствія испытываетъ абхазецъ въ юности и какія нравственныя начала выноситъ онъ изъ явленій и фактовъ окружающей его природы и среды?.. Вотъ онъ, ребенкомъ, держа въ рукѣ ножъ съ рукояткою больше себя, пасетъ въ лѣсу или въ горахъ буйволовъ или козъ и наблюдаетъ происходящее у него передъ глазами: вонъ лиса подстерегла неосторожную дикую курочку, схватила ее и поволокла на расправу въ лѣсную чащу; вонъ изголодавшійся волкъ, на глазахъ у зазѣвавшагося пастуха, такого-же подростка, какъ и онъ, выхватилъ изъ стада ягненочка; вонъ тамъ, подальше, пернатый хищникъ, улучивъ удобную минуту, стрѣлой налетѣлъ на слабаго лѣсного обитателя и, вцѣпившись въ него когтями, поднялся съ пойманнымъ животнымъ и исчезъ въ синевѣ неба... и такъ изъ дня въ день. Одни и тѣ-же образцы безнаказаннаго грабежа и насилія, повседневно повторяющіеся, не могутъ не оставить, конечно, глубокихъ слѣдовъ въ душѣ наблюдательнаго подростка-пастуха. Наблюденныя имъ въ окружающей природѣ явленія, по приходѣ его домой, скрѣпляются и, такъ сказать, освящаются въ его глазахъ авторитетомъ старшихъ членовъ семьи: здѣсь ежедневно происходятъ пересуды и перебранки по случаю потери или угона кѣмъ-то чужого скота; онъ слышитъ, съ одной стороны, похвалы и одобреніе воровству, а съ другой—проклятія по адресу уворовавшаго; онъ видитъ, наконецъ, какъ хозяйка семьи, въ законности поступковъ которой ему ни разу не приходило въ голову сомнѣваться, съ великою осторожностью достаетъ зарытое въ землѣ мясо украденнаго у сосѣдей животнаго и варитъ его... Когда-же, умудренный наблюденіемъ окружающей среды и удачными опытами своихъ близкихъ, ребенокъ выростаетъ въ взрослаго юношу,—то родители и, вообще, представители семьи даютъ ему оружіе, предварительно благословивъ его словами: „пріобрѣтай теперь самъ, находи себѣ состояніе воровствомъ и грабежомъ, подобно тому, какъ это дѣлаютъ всѣ твои сверстники“. Слѣдовательно, воровство не только получаетъ здѣсь значеніе примѣра, достойнаго, при благопріятномъ случаѣ, подражанія; но оно предлагается, какъ обязательный modus vivendi, какъ догматъ, санкціонированный авторитетомъ родителей и, вообще, старшихъ въ семьѣ.

Обратимъ вниманіе еще на другое обстоятельство. Дѣти, какъ извѣстно, весьма любятъ сказки и всякаго рода повѣствованія и легенды. Въ длинныя зимнія ночи старики и старухи разсказываютъ ихъ абхазскимъ дѣтямъ. Но большинство подобныхъ разсказовъ также вредно въ смыслѣ нравственнаго вліянія, ибо содержаніе этихъ легендъ, сказокъ и повѣствованій дальше восхваленій воровству, грабежу и нападеніямъ не идетъ; въ нихъ прославляется смѣлость, рѣшимость и храбрость какого нибудь „абрага“ (абрекъ=разбойникъ), его воровская находчивость, смѣтливость при затрудненіяхъ, удальство при грабежѣ и захватѣ чужого добра. Этимъ, отчасти, быть можетъ, объясняется то печальное явленіе въ жизни абхазцевъ, что лица, даже понюхавшія средняго образованія, по возвращеніи на родину подчасъ вновь отдаются усвоенному съ дѣтства ремеслу—воровству. Виноваты тутъ, конечно, не школа и не среднее образованіе, а тѣ традиціонныя воззрѣнія на это „ремесло“, отъ соприкосновенія съ которыми гибнетъ всякое иное единичное воззрѣніе на него, подобно тому, какъ одинокій пшеничный колосъ глохнетъ среди окружающихъ его плевелъ.

Въ воровствѣ абхазецъ вѣроломенъ. Лучшіе, повидимому, друзья не стѣсняются красть другъ у друга, и въ Абхазіи не рѣдкость, что братъ крадетъ у брата, отецъ у сына, сынъ у отца. Вошло чуть-ли не въ поговорку, что когда абхазцу не у кого красть, такъ онъ крадетъ у самого себя. Бывали примѣры, что абхазецъ, выкравъ у сосѣда, въ темную ночь, лошадь и обмѣнявъ ее, по угонѣ за тридевять земель, на другую, въ ту-же ночь возвращался домой, а на утро, при первой-же суматохѣ по случаю кражи у сосѣда, первымъ являлся къ нему съ соболѣзнованіями и, въ числѣ другихъ, посылая проклятія по адресу укравшаго, съ остервенѣніемъ мчался, вмѣстѣ съ другими, въ догонку за воромъ.

Воръ-абхазецъ не сознается въ преступленіи даже и тогда, когда могъ-бы быть уличенъ свидѣтельскими показаніями. При разборахъ воровскихъ дѣлъ на сельскихъ сходахъ, на постановленія судей въ пользу обвиняемаго нерѣдко вліяютъ смѣлость оправдательныхъ его рѣчей, нахальная изворотливость обвиняемаго и то, что̀ называется „заговаривать зубы". Вообще-же, на такихъ сходахъ всякое хитроумное, хотя-бы и совершенно безстыжее, краснобайство завѣдомаго вора находитъ себѣ не только внимательныхъ слушателей, но и почитателей. „Смѣлостью рѣчи, говорятъ въ такихъ случаяхъ, онъ спасъ себя".

И хотя такое воровское „краснорѣчіе" часто избавляетъ виновнаго отъ наказаній, но потерпѣвшій, понятно, не убѣждается въ его правотѣ и, въ свою очередь, старается, при удобномъ случаѣ, выместить на немъ свои убытки, по рецепту: „око за око и зубъ за зубъ".

Месть за пролитую кровь въ наши дни проявляется сравнительно въ слабой степени; но въ былыя времена она составляла одну изъ главнѣйшихъ чертъ въ жизни абхазца. Обычай кровомщенія обязываетъ родственника убитаго убить или самого убійцу, или-же его родственника. Кровомщеніе переходитъ изъ поколѣнія въ поколѣніе и составляетъ священную обязанность человѣка; невымещеніе крови считается стыдомъ и посрамленіемъ для живыхъ сородичей убитаго. По убѣжденію абхазца, если, по какимъ нибудь обстоятельствамъ, кровь останется невымещенною, она сама начнетъ вымещать за себя.

Въ томъ случаѣ, когда самъ убійца спасался бѣгствомъ, отвѣтственнымъ за него лицомъ являлся его родственникъ: его убивали, уводили въ плѣнъ или грабили и разоряли въ конецъ. Убійство даже самаго послѣдняго раба часто приводило къ столкновенію цѣлыя селенія; слѣдствіемъ такой вражды бывало то, что одно изъ селеній должно было въ конецъ разориться, либо выселиться въ другое мѣсто, если между ними не устанавливалось взаимнаго соглашенія и примиренія.

Въ дѣлѣ кровомщенія большую роль играло происхожденіе. Если, напримѣръ, князь убивалъ крестьянина, то родственники послѣдняго не имѣли права вымещать на убійцѣ кровь убитаго, ибо „кровь крестьянъ не одинакова съ княжеской". Поэтому, взамѣнъ убійцы-князя, за пролитую имъ кровь долженъ былъ отвѣтствовать его воспитатель.

За кровь крестьянина, дворянина и князя взималось неодинаково.

Хотя личныя достоинства человѣка въ Абхазіи обращали на себя особенное вниманіе, но, тѣмъ не менѣе, кровь крестьянина стоимостью была ниже крови дворянина, а этого послѣдняго ниже крови князя. Такъ, напримѣръ, если кровь крестьянина цѣнилась въ пять душъ человѣческихъ, то кровь дворянина стоила втрое, а князя въ пять разъ дороже, чѣмъ кровь крестьянина. Стоимость крови опредѣлялась по пядямъ. Душа (человѣкъ) по росту въ 4 пяди цѣнилась въ 30 коровъ или въ 30 руб. сереб., въ пять пядей—50 коровъ или 50 руб. сер. и въ шесть пядей—70 коровъ или 70 руб. сер. Въ придачу приплачивалось еще оружіемъ и одеждою. За кровь уплачивалось коровами, козами, овцами и ульями. Число послѣднихъ опредѣлялось, сообразно стоимости коровы.

Если цѣна крови въ опредѣленный срокъ не уплачивалась, то въ концѣ года, взамѣнъ стоимости 4 пядей, писалось пять, взамѣнъ пяти—6, а шести—7, такъ что и вообще значительный долгъ увеличивался еще больше и тяжелымъ бременемъ ложился на плательщика. Но у абхазцевъ былъ одинъ прекрасный обычай —приходить на помощь къ несостоятельному должнику. Послѣднему стоило только сказать, что за нимъ „остается кровь“, и всякій вносилъ свою лепту на уплату его долга.

Лучшимъ средствомъ для полнаго умиротворенія враждующихъ за кровь считался слѣдующій обрядъ. Родственникъ убійцы устраивалъ пиръ и, черезъ посредниковъ, приглашалъ самого ищущаго крови, или его сына. Тутъ достаточно было убѣдить ищущаго крови приложить свои губы къ груди жены или матери должника, чтобы, вслѣдствіе одного этого акта, между ними установился вѣчный и нерушимый миръ. Если-же кровомститель не угомонялся и не приходилъ на пиръ, то противная сторона старалась украсть или инымъ способомъ залучить къ себѣ въ домъ его сына или близкаго родственника. Если это удавалось, то и миръ, волей-неволей, устанавливался, ибо убивать воспитателя считалось попраніемъ и обезчещеніемъ „груди“, а это ужь не соотвѣтствовало достоинству удальца.

Любовь къ родинѣ въ абхазцѣ развита до высшей мѣры. Нѣкоторые народы говорятъ: ubi bene, ibi patria; абхазецъ же, наоборотъ, молится: „Лучше Абхазіи въ мірѣ нѣтъ мѣста. Боже, сохрани Абхазію“. И въ горѣ, и въ радости онъ одинаково твердитъ эту молитву.

Гостепріимство, какъ и у всѣхъ древнихъ народовъ, въ Абхазіи свято чтится и сохраняется. Абхазецъ увѣренъ, что со всякимъ гостемъ имѣется по семи „барака“ (благословеніе, благодать, обиліе), изъ которыхъ одно остается у гостепріимца, а гостю Богъ опять даетъ убавленное седьмое барака. Самый бѣдный абхазецъ старается какъ можно лучше угостить гостя; когда абхазецъ видитъ странника, проходящаго по сельской дорогѣ въ вечернюю пору, тотчасъ-же предлагаетъ ему: „бзіала ваһбэит“—„добро васъ видѣть!“ Затѣмъ онъ начинаетъ приглашать встрѣчнаго къ себѣ: „заверните ко мнѣ, отдохните; куда вы пойдете теперь? проведите у насъ ночь и утромъ рано идите своею дорогою“. Если путникъ, будь онъ знакомый или незнакомецъ, приметъ приглашеніе и зайдетъ къ приглашающему, то его радушно встрѣтятъ и угостятъ на славу. А если путникъ не приметъ приглашенія, то, отвѣчая: „убэихт“ (разбогатѣй, благодарю), продолжаетъ свой путь. Обычай гостепріимства защищаетъ путника даже отъ кровомстителя. Разъ онъ въ гостяхъ, никто не въ правѣ его трогать.

Вмѣстѣ съ гостепріимствомъ и хлѣбосольствомъ, абхазецъ также весьма учтивъ, вѣжливъ и почтителенъ, особенно-же предъ старшими себя. Вотъ два-три примѣра.

Предъ принятіемъ всякой пищи абхазцы обыкновенно вымываютъ руки. Но мытье рукъ совершается по старшинству: очищеніе рукъ водою начинается самымъ старшимъ и оканчивается самымъ младшимъ изъ пирующихъ. Такой-же порядокъ существуетъ и во время распиванія вина. Но при этомъ и старшій не остается въ долгу: сначала онъ отказывается отъ своей очереди и предлагаетъ слѣдующему за собой лицу первымъ испить вина или вымыть руки. Этого требуетъ обычай учтивости и вѣжливости. Но, конечно, меньшій на-отрѣзъ отказывается отъ предлагаемой чести. Наконецъ, послѣ многократныхъ взаимныхъ уговоровъ, комплиментовъ, первый (старшій) принимаетъ таки приглашеніе. Затѣмъ такая-же церемонія происходитъ между вторымъ и третьимъ, между третьимъ и четвертымъ и т. д., до послѣдняго изъ пирующихъ. При этомъ, когда старшіе моютъ руки, младшіе должны стоять. Тутъ опять происходятъ церемоніи, увѣщеванія, чтобы они садились, но если приглашаемые не внимаютъ этимъ увѣщаніямъ и продолжаютъ стоять, тогда и старшій считаетъ уже неприличнымъ сидя мыть руки;—онъ также встаетъ. Съ такими-же церемоніями рѣшается вопросъ, кому изъ двухъ первымъ переступить порогъ и войти въ домъ. Вотъ, въ лѣсу, напр., встрѣтились два всадника. Младшій изъ нихъ, если имѣетъ что либо сказать старшему, долженъ слѣзть съ коня и докладывать, стоя на землѣ. При этомъ старшій убѣдительно проситъ его докладывать, не слѣзая.

Языкъ обхазцевъ также свидѣтельствуетъ объ ихъ вѣжливости. Въ разговорѣ абхазецъ часто прибѣгаетъ къ словамъ: прошу, твоя болѣзнь мнѣ. да сдѣлаться мнѣ жертвою твоихъ болѣзней, жертвою взамѣнъ тебя, да покружиться мнѣ вокругъ того мѣста, гдѣ ты лежишь, и т. д. Въ силу этого послѣдняго выраженія, абхазка, навѣстивъ своего больного питомца или долгое время не видѣннаго человѣка, три раза обходитъ его, говоря: „уцгэ мцугэ сэнзгат", т. е. да унести мнѣ твою болѣзнь, твое несчастіе.

У абхазца на каждый случай жизни имѣется особое привѣтствіе, въ которомъ высказывается пожеланіе благополучія, силы, побѣды, размноженія, прибыли и пр. Такъ, въ репертуарѣ всевозможныхъ абхазскихъ привѣтствій есть даже спеціально приноровленныя на случаи встрѣчъ ѣдущихъ на скачку, привѣтствія устроителю этихъ скачекъ и т. д. И это совершенно понятно и естественно для такого народа, какъ абхазцы, у которыхъ лошадь и оружіе составляютъ самые излюбленные предметы, высоко цѣнить которые они привыкаютъ чуть-ли не съ пеленокъ. Дѣти лицъ высшихъ сословій уже съ первыхъ лѣтъ жизни становятся прекрасными наѣздниками и оруженосцами. Пистолетъ, кинжалъ, шашка, ножъ и цѣлый арсеналъ оружія—постоянно украшаютъ любого абхазца. Для него нѣтъ выше удовольствія, когда онъ, вооруженный съ головы до ногъ, накинувъ на себя бурку, ѣдетъ съ сверстниками и подпѣваетъ веселую пѣсенку. Безъ лошади и оружія абхазцу и жизнь не въ жизнь!

Кромѣ скачекъ и джириты, въ жизни абхазца обращаютъ на себя вниманіе еще слѣдующія игры: 1. игра въ мячъ, 2. аркил-рики и 3. метаніе камня. Народная музыка и поэзія абхазцевъ весьма бѣдны. Единственный музыкальный инструментъ абхазцевъ, притомъ позаимствованный, судя по названію, у грузинъ, это ачангур, балалайка (груз. чонгури). Абхазское стихосложеніе, большею частью, соподчинено аллитераціи. Вотъ примѣры:

Варвулту... барфунту
Чілар џарда qулардам
Арба арба сінарба
Маста мастароу
Маста стахоу
Сіамул уца
Сіамул сіахоу
Сіанджар уца.

II.

Домашняя жизнь абхазцевъ.—Семья.—Положеніе женщины.

Вся домашняя жизнь абхазца обставлена такъ незатѣйливо, что весь необходимый хозяйственный скарбъ, за исключеніемъ вещей желѣзныхъ, производится самимъ-же абхазцемъ, изъ того матеріала, который имѣется у него подъ рукой. Кузнечное ремесло, требующее уже нѣкоторыхъ спеціальныхъ техническихъ знаній, предоставлено особымъ мастерамъ этого дѣла. Въ каждомъ селеніи имѣется по два, по три кузнеца, которые изъ доставленнаго куска желѣза выдѣлываютъ все необходимое абхазцу. Кузнецы пользуются большимъ почетомъ въ обществѣ, и самое ремесло ихъ въ глазахъ абхазца имѣетъ священное значеніе.

Торговля считается постыднымъ ремесломъ и поэтому сами абхазцы не занимаются ею; но еслибы она была развита, то абхазцы многое могли-бы съ выгодой продавать. Такъ, напр., абхазки, кстати сказать, большія мастерицы на всякія домашнія работы, изъ овечьей и козьей кожи выдѣлываютъ сафьянъ (цуш), который такъ нравится иностранцамъ; этотъ цуш въ Абхазіи, лѣтомъ, служитъ постелью. Мужчины дѣлаютъ прекрасныя ложки изъ дерева и роговъ животныхъ. Многіе охотники убиваютъ по семи-восьми медвѣдей въ годъ, но шкуръ не продаютъ. Вообще, купля и продажа въ Абхазіи мѣновая, денегъ въ этомъ случаѣ не употребляютъ.

Главнымъ источникомъ пропитанія абхазцевъ являются земледѣліе, скотоводство и, отчасти, пчеловодство. Въ предгорьяхъ абхазцы имѣютъ часто по 200 и болѣе ульевъ. Нынѣ абхазцы сѣютъ кукурузу и, изрѣдка, пшеницу. Нѣсколько лѣтъ назадъ, гоми (гhоми) считался главнымъ и самымъ распространеннымъ хлѣбнымъ растеніемъ; но теперь кукуруза совсѣмъ вытѣснила его. Въ ограниченномъ количествѣ, для домашняго только употребленія, сѣютъ еще табакъ, хлопокъ, ленъ, пеньку и огородныя растенія.

Главное богатство абхазца составляетъ домашній скотъ; по мнѣнію абхазца, это—существенный рычагъ жизни человѣка, кормитель, взроститель и хранитель его. Въ представленіи абхазца жизнь безъ домашняго скота немыслима; можно еще кое-какъ обходиться безъ хлѣба, но безъ скота нельзя. Такое воззрѣніе особенно справедливо относительно пастуховъ, которые, можно сказать, блаженствують, почти исключительно питаясь мясомъ и молокомъ. Для прокормленія стада, нерѣдко даже въ двѣ-три головы скота, когда оканчивалась трава въ одномъ мѣстѣ, абхазецъ переселялся въ другое, гдѣ ея легче было достать, и переносилъ съ собой свою пhацха (плетенку-шалашъ). Такъ было до послѣдней войны, а послѣ нея главное вниманіе абхазцевъ было обращено на посѣвъ кукурузы, вывозъ которой увеличивается изо дня въ день.

Устройство абхазскаго дома, пhацха, незатѣйливо. По виду онъ бываетъ круглый или четыреугольный. Стѣнки пhацхи подымаются наклонно вверхъ и сплетаются тоненькими орѣховыми прутьями; на нихъ опирается конусообразная крыша; сверху, конусъ связанъ вѣтками лозняка или прутьями; жерди укрѣплены на столбикахъ (დარძაყიბი). Такое незатѣйливое строеніе покрывается папоротникомъ, камышомъ, или метлюкомъ (полевицей, пиреемъ, Agrotis vulgaris).

Другого рода пhацха, представляющая по формѣ неправильный четыреугольникъ, строится такъ. У дверей фасада вбиты въ землю два каштановые столбика такъ, что верхніе концы ихъ сходятся. Абхазцы называютъ ихъ амакратл-хква (ножницы). Въ сторонѣ, противоположной „ножницамъ", вбитъ столбъ; на „ножницы" и на этотъ столбъ перекинуто стропило, на которомъ держится крыша. Крыша у такой пhацхи бываетъ покатая и плоская. Такую пhацху можно строить какой угодно величины. Спереди ея дѣлаютъ сѣни, а сзади особое отдѣленіе, гдѣ складываютъ всякій скарбъ и зимою держатъ скотъ. Стѣнъ пhацхи не обмазываютъ ничѣмъ и только зимою изрѣдка обставляютъ папоротникомъ; поэтому, чрезъ стѣны легко проходитъ внутрь свѣтъ, а вмѣстѣ съ нимъ, холодъ и дождь.

Внутри дома, по серединѣ пhацхи, изъ глины или тесанаго камня устроенъ очагъ (ахуштаара). Надъ очагомъ, съ потолка, на обручахъ висятъ чугунные котлы, въ которыхъ варятъ пищу. Въ очагѣ абхазцы стараются поддерживать неугасимый огонь. Дымъ выходитъ черезъ крышу, но во время вѣтра кружится по комнатѣ; поэтому, вся пhацха, и особенно верхняя часть ея, закопчена сажей. По одну сторону пhацхи поставлена тахта, у очага стоитъ длинная и нѣсколько широкая скамья, которая подчасъ служитъ и тахтой. На тахтѣ сложены постельныя принадлежности; тутъ-же стоитъ сундукъ, въ которомъ хранятся необходимыя вещи. На стѣнѣ висятъ сѣдло, кнутъ и часть оружіе. Въ углу-же, у стѣны, находится посуда для приготовленія гһоми; тамъ же висятъ корзинки для храненія провизіи, деревянныя или роговыя ложки, чашки, стоятъ подойники, корыта и пр. Тазы и кувшины попадаются рѣдко; вмѣсто кувшина, употребляютъ тыкву-горлянку. Ко всему этому надо добавить еще нѣкоторыя орудія, плоскій камень, употребляемый вмѣсто ступки, и точильный камень. Вотъ и вся домашняя обстановка абхазца съ среднимъ состояніемъ.

Большая четыреугольная пһацха служитъ главнымъ жилымъ домомъ, а конусообразная (хквацу)—для помѣщенія новобрачныхъ. Бѣдные довольствуются и однимъ домикомъ.

Обыкновенной, повседневной пищей абхазца служатъ сыръ, хлѣбъ изъ кукурузы, гһоми и кислое молоко. Гһоми приготовляется съ сыромъ (аэладж), или съ молокомъ и сыромъ (ачамухкуа). Зимою абхазецъ довольствуется вареннымъ мясомъ, причемъ предпочитаетъ мясо козла. Легко обходится безъ вина, лишь-бы было кислое молоко. Раковъ абхазецъ ненавидитъ; прежде не любилъ также и рыбы, но нынѣ, мало по малу, привыкаетъ ее ѣсть; не ѣстъ и нѣкоторыхъ огородныхъ растеній, но любитъ пищу, приправленную горькими травами, перцемъ и пр. Для своихъ моленій абхазцы пекутъ конусообразные хлѣбы, которые потомъ варятся: постомъ—въ водѣ, а въ другое время—въ молокѣ. Эти хлѣбы называются эрважа.

Старшинство въ семьѣ абхазца строго почитается. Своему pater familias (авн аіḥаб) подчиняются всѣ домочадцы. Въ семьѣ все дѣлается по его распоряженію и усмотрѣнію и только въ дѣлахъ, касающихся женщинъ, руководительницей является старшая въ семьѣ женщина (авн эіһаб апһс). Младшіе во всемъ дѣйствуютъ по указаніямъ старшихъ; но если младшій членъ семьи по уму и опытности превосходитъ старшаго, то фактически все совершается по его волѣ и указаніямъ.

Старшіе въ домѣ (мужчина и женщина) исполняютъ всѣ религіозные обряды и молитвы. Старшій въ фамиліи также является исполнителемъ всѣхъ фамильныхъ религіозныхъ обрядовъ. Сыновья съ большою любовью ухаживаютъ за своими престарѣлыми родителями; при жизни родителей они обыкновенно не отдѣляются. Если-же случается раздѣлъ, то родителямъ даютъ половину всего имущества. Если дѣлежъ происходитъ между сыновьями и матерью, то послѣдней, кромѣ ея приданаго, выдѣляется часть имущества, равная долѣ каждаго изъ братьевъ; затѣмъ, по своей волѣ и желанію, она поселяется съ однимъ изъ сыновей. Старшему брату при раздѣлѣ назначается доля за старшинство (аiһабшаху). Если имѣется много скота, то за старшинство удѣляется по одной головѣ отъ каждой породы, а если мало, то одна, самая лучшая. Меньшему брату тоже выдѣляется за меньшинство (эiҕбшаху). Послѣ выдѣла за старшинство и за меньшинство, все остальное по-ровну дѣлится между братьями; при этомъ домъ отца, дворъ и др. достается меньшему брату. Сестры получаютъ меньше братьевъ.

Ласковый и привѣтливый въ обществѣ, абхазецъ является у себя дома довольно суровымъ, повелительнымъ и столь неразговорчивымъ, точно ему лѣнь или жаль проронить своимъ домашнимъ хоть одно слово ласки и привѣта. Абхазка пользуется большою свободой. У нея не меньше, чѣмъ у мужчины, дѣла. Такъ, она сама носитъ кукурузу на мельницу, а въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ сама и мелетъ ее на ручной мельницѣ. Во время лѣтнихъ работъ, съ мотыгой въ рукѣ, она работаетъ, вмѣстѣ съ мужчиной, въ кукурузникѣ. Жены лицъ высшихъ сословій трудятся не меньше мужей, за то и пользуются онѣ большей свободой и почетомъ, чѣмъ гдѣ либо.

Съ дѣтства и до старости женщину встрѣчаютъ съ почетомъ и уваженіемъ. Женщины посѣщаютъ общественныя сходки, бываютъ на оплакиваньяхъ, поминкахъ, въ собраніяхъ мужчинъ и танцуютъ съ ними. Бывали примѣры, когда въ ночныхъ похожденіяхъ женщина являлась предводительницей абраговъ. Она исполняетъ религіозныя требы и церемоніи. Но при всемъ этомъ требуется, чтобы абхазка была невинна, стыдлива и говорила предъ старшими мужчинами учтиво и вѣжливо.

Абхазкѣ,—если мужъ по неосновательной причинѣ разведется съ ней,—разрѣшено являться на сельскія сходки и защищать себя. И она умѣло пользуется этимъ правомъ: съ неменьшею, чѣмъ мужчина, рѣшимостью идетъ на сходку и съ большимъ краснорѣчіемъ защищаетъ себя. Если, по разнымъ обстоятельствамъ, мужъ можетъ развестись съ женою, то и послѣдней дано право также поступать съ мужемъ, когда и онъ провинится передъ ней.

III.

Воспитаніе.—Воспитываемый.—Воспитатели.

Когда высшее сословіе въ Абхазіи пользовалось силой и властью, положеніе низшаго сословія было чрезвычайно угнетепное, батови (господинъ, феодалъ) смотрѣлъ на своего подданнаго, на раба, какъ на вещь: смотря по обстоятельствамъ, онъ продавалъ его или закладывалъ. Впрочемъ, и послѣ уничтоженія рабства, положеніе крестьянства не улучшилось, такъ какъ дворянство вплоть до послѣдняго времени не переставало заниматься воровствомъ, грабежами и разбоями.

При такомъ положеніи вещей, крестьянству оставалось мириться съ феодализмомъ и стараться, гдѣ можно, пользоваться его покровительствомъ. Лучшимъ средствомъ для этого служилъ обычай усыновленія или воспитанія крестьянами сыновей аристократовъ. Благодаря этому обычаю, усиливались и сами аристократы, такъ какъ они пріобрѣтали чрезъ это въ крестьянахъ самыхъ вѣрныхъ себѣ сторонниковъ, а жены ихъ освобождались отъ тягостной обязанности воспитанія и кормленія собственныхъ своихъ дѣтей. Поэтому-то въ Абхазіи нѣтъ ни одного крестьянина, который не воспиталъ-бы одного или нѣсколькихъ князей и дворянъ; вслѣдствіе этого обычая, едва-ли наберется 1% дворянъ, вскормленныхъ грудью собственныхъ матерей.

Предъ наступленіемъ рòдовъ въ семьяхъ аристократовъ (дидэбули), къ беременной начинаютъ стекаться, съ одной стороны, родственницы и знакомыя, съ другой—будущія воспитательницы ожидаемаго ребенка, съ которыми приходятъ сюда мужья и родственницы, чтобы съ подобающей торжественностью вернуться въ свое селеніе съ новорожденнымъ младенцемъ-воспитанникомъ. При рòдахъ къ роженицѣ являются также сельскія дѣвушки, чтобы веселымъ пѣніемъ и повѣствованіемъ басенъ и сказокъ развлекать родильницу и облегчать предродовыя ея страданія. Мужъ въ это время отсутствуетъ. По обычаю страны, онъ не имѣетъ права находиться при рòдахъ жены и потому удаляется изъ дому. Надъ кроватью роженицы съ потолка подвѣшивается веревка, за которую она могла-бы хвататься при сильныхъ родовыхъ боляхъ и спазмахъ. Ей неприлично доводить свои стоны и крики до слуха свекра и свекрови, она должна стойко выносить страданія, чтобы на всегда не потерять ихъ уваженія къ себѣ. Вотъ, наконецъ, она разрѣшилась. Рожденіе мальчика радуетъ мать больше, чѣмъ дѣвочки, такъ какъ это даетъ ей въ глазахъ общества больше уваженія и чести; но она не особенно печалится и рожденіемъ дочери, ибо это служитъ, все-таки, доказательствомъ ея небезплодности. Новорожденный переходитъ въ руки кормилицы (жены воспитателя), родственницы поздравляютъ роженицу съ благополучнымъ исходомъ родовъ: мать тоже радуется, и болѣе всего, конечно, тому обстоятельству, что, съ переходомъ малютки на воспитаніе въ чужія руки, сама она скоро поправится и, свободная отъ ухода за нимъ, тѣмъ легче сохранитъ красоту и свѣжесть лица. Чрезъ нѣсколько дней возвращается мужъ и, въ свою очередь, поздравляетъ ее съ разрѣшеніемъ отъ бремени *).

Въ день, назначенный для отъѣзда кормилицы съ новорожденнымъ малюткою, родители устраиваютъ пиръ и дарятъ ей матерію на платье, бѣлье и всѣ принадлежности для колыбели ребенка, мѣдный котелокъ для обмыванія его и другія мелкія вещи.

Съ этого дня воспитательница получаетъ почетное имя анадзлзэи (кормилица, мать-кормилица), и не только сама она, но и мужъ ея—абадзлзэи (кормилецъ, отецъ-кормилецъ) пользуются всеобщимъ уваженіемъ; малютка, съ переходомъ въ домъ кормильца и кормилицы, признается воспитанникомъ (ахупһа) той фамиліи, къ которой принадлежитъ кормилецъ.

Воспитатели подобающимъ образомъ лелѣятъ малютку, содержатъ его въ нѣгѣ и довольствѣ. Чрезъ 2—3 года, воспитывающагося привозятъ къ его родителямъ съ подарками, состоящими изъ одного или двухъ быковъ, козла, каплуновъ, вина, хлѣба и пр. Въ домѣ родителей ребенка опять устраивается пиръ, на который сзываются и сосѣди. Тутъ кормилицѣ и ея мужу оказываютъ всяческій почетъ. Воспитателямъ дается право первымъ вымывать руки, а при возвращеніи ихъ домой, родители ребенка должны посадить ихъ на лошадь, т. е. когда они садятся на лошадь, поддерживать стремена съ противоположной стороны. Воспитатели возвращаются домой съ малюткой, обремененные всевозможными подарками: животными, платьемъ и деньгами.

Воспитанникъ остается у воспитателей впродолженіи 8—9 лѣтъ, а затѣмъ его привозятъ къ настоящимъ родителямъ. Нечего и говорить, что дитя, проведя свои юные годы въ чужомъ домѣ, выросши тамъ и научившись ходить, говорить и любить кормилицу и окружавшую его среду, со вступленіемъ въ домъ своего отца съ трудомъ мирится съ новымъ положеніемъ—въ первое время домъ отца кажется ему чуть-ли не тюрьмою. По этой причинѣ ему позволяютъ чаще навѣщать своихъ воспитателей. Если же воспитанникъ—сирота, то до женитьбы онъ остается въ домѣ воспитателей, на ихъ попеченіи.

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*) См. прекрасную статью „Абхазія“ К. Мачавариани, въ газ. „Иверія“ за 1884 г., № 275.

Воспитанникъ обязанъ защищать интересы своихъ воспитателей, т. е. той фамиліи, члены которой воспитали его. Онъ обязанъ, напр., розыскивать потерянную вещь его воспитателей, находить вора и взыскивать съ него и большой для него будетъ срамъ, если онъ не съумѣетъ этого сдѣлать. Точно также, если его воспитателей обидитъ кто нибудь и они, по слабости, не могутъ отплатить обидчику, то за нихъ долженъ заступиться ихъ воспитанникъ. Положимъ, напр., что какой нибудь князь побилъ крестьянина. Въ этомъ случаѣ, за обиду долженъ требовать воспитанникъ побитаго крестьянина и искать за нее не съ самого обидчика-князя, ибо его „кровь неравна крестьянской“, а съ его воспитателя, крестьянина-же; ему-то и достается за оскорбленіе, нанесенное воспитателю другого князя. Если крестьянинъ-воспитатель замѣшанъ въ какомъ нибудь дѣлѣ, то князь-воспитанникъ старается, всѣми правдами и неправдами, выручить его изъ бѣды. Въ такихъ случаяхъ, если воспитанникъ самъ еще молодъ и не въ состояніи помочь своимъ воспитателямъ, то вмѣсто него дѣйствуютъ его родители.

Этимъ, однако, еще не завершается роль воспитанника по отношенію къ воспитателю. Въ радостяхъ и несчастіяхъ своего воспитателя, во всѣхъ мало-мальски серьезныхъ обстоятельствахъ его жизни, онъ является главнымъ дѣйствующимъ лицомъ. Такъ, когда умретъ сама кормилица его, ея мужъ или кто-либо изъ ихъ дѣтей, то онъ горько оплакиваетъ ихъ, надѣваетъ трауръ, отпускаетъ волосы, на свой счетъ покупаетъ гробъ и распоряжается порядкомъ и церемоніей оплакиванія и похоронъ усопшаго. При поминкахъ онъ доставляетъ барана или лошадь и опять-таки распоряжается всѣмъ. Воспитанникъ-же является главнымъ лицомъ и въ томъ случаѣ, когда сынъ его кормилицы похищаетъ себѣ въ жены дѣвушку: если родственники дѣвушки погонятся за похитителемъ, то князь-воспитанникъ дѣйствуетъ за него словомъ и оружіемъ и не уступаетъ похищенной дѣвушки; затѣмъ, до окончательнаго улаженія дѣла, онъ держитъ ее у себя, такъ какъ нападать на его домъ уже никто изъ родственниковъ похищенной не осмѣлится.

Если-же свадьба сына воспитателя, или его дочери происходитъ мирно, по добровольному соглашенію обѣихъ сторонъ, то и тутъ князь-воспитанникъ считается первымъ дружкомъ жениха, даритъ невѣстѣ деньги, лошадь и пр.

Въ свою очередь, и воспитатели не остаются въ долгу у воспитанника, котораго они называютъ своимъ солнцемъ, своею святынею, именемъ котораго клянутся. Они ежегодно доставляютъ ему подарки, къ рождеству: сыръ, каплуновъ, хлѣбъ; къ пасхѣ: барашка или козленка и „чумухквати“. Подарки эти—необходимые внѣшніе знаки искренняго расположенія и дружбы со стороны меньшихъ (низшей братіи) къ старшимъ; съ прекращеніемъ ихъ, прерывается и взаимная дружба.

Сыновья кормилицы бываютъ обыкновенно закадычными друзьями и пособниками воспитанника въ его ночныхъ воровскихъ похожденіяхъ. По этому-то, князь или дворянинъ въ свои воровскія экспедиціи беретъ и сыновей кормилицы, зная, что они, въ нуждѣ, готовы пожертвовать за него и жизнью.

Когда умретъ воспитанникъ, то горе и печаль воспитателей безпредѣльны: къ его похоронамъ они доставляютъ саванъ и деньги: они-же приводятъ на поминки по усопшемъ одного или двухъ быковъ, барановъ и пр. При женитьбѣ воспитанника они оказываютъ ему всяческое содѣйствіе своимъ личнымъ трудомъ, также дарятъ ему откормленныхъ животныхъ, да и невѣстѣ его приносятъ подарки.

У абхазцевъ существуетъ и другой родъ воспитыванія: именно, въ воспитанники приглашается взрослый мужчина. Такого мужчину абхазскій крестьянинъ приглашаетъ къ себѣ словами: „Я желаю повести тебя въ мой домъ и, по состоянію своему, оказать тебѣ почетъ“. Въ назначенный день приглашаемый отправляется въ домъ будущаго своего воспитателя и беретъ съ собою еще нѣсколько человѣкъ. Во время ужина, хозяинъ и его родственники становятся на колѣни предъ вступающимъ въ воспитанники и подаютъ ему стаканъ вина, затѣмъ встаютъ на ноги и одинъ изъ нихъ обращается къ нему съ слѣдующей рѣчью: „Съ этого дня мы считаемъ тебя вскормленнымъ грудью въ нашей семьѣ, мы одинаковаго съ тобой образа мыслей и не пожалѣемъ для тебя ничего; надѣемся, что и ты для насъ не поскупишься ничѣмъ; ты будешь пользоваться большимъ, чѣмъ другіе воспитанники, почетомъ“. Послѣ этого, ему подносятъ нѣсколько рублей и дарятъ что нибудь его сотоварищамъ (хаҵ). При передачѣ подарковъ говорятъ: „вадча энуи“ (подарокъ тебѣ). Церемонія эта заканчивается слѣдующимъ образомъ: на постланномъ коврѣ ставятъ сундукъ, на него садится жена хозяина дома, т. е. будущая кормилица; ее окружаютъ женщины. Затѣмъ, чрезъ отворенныя двери, входитъ вступающій въ воспитанники и становится предъ возсѣдающей на сундукѣ хозяйкой, кланяется ей и троекратно прикасается губами къ соску ея груди, или, какъ абхазцы говорятъ, „три раза кусаетъ сосцы“; послѣ каждаго раза онъ произноситъ: „съ этого дня ты—родная моя мать“. И дѣйствительно, съ этого времени между ними устанавливаются совершенно такія-же взаимныя отношенія, какъ и въ первомъ случаѣ—полнаго воспитанія чужого ребенка. Нечего и говорить, что, кромѣ князей и дворянъ, крестьяне точно также воспитываютъ дѣтей духовныхъ лицъ, купцовъ и даже крестьянъ-же. Бываютъ случаи, когда и дворяне на тѣхъ-же основаніяхъ принимаютъ къ себѣ на воспитаніе сыновей сильныхъ и вліятельныхъ князей.

IV.

Женитьба.

Лѣтъ пятнадцать назадъ, женихъ обыкновенно похищалъ себѣ въ жены дѣвушку, т. е., безъ согласія родителей дѣвушки и ея самой, совершалъ на нее нападеніе, при содѣйствіи сверстниковъ, и уводилъ ее къ себѣ силою. Такіе случаи нынѣ рѣдки. Напротивъ, похищенія совершаются теперь, большею частью, съ согласія самой невѣсты, хотя нерѣдко и помимо воли ея родителей. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ, избранная въ невѣсты приходитъ въ ночное время къ заранѣе условленному мѣсту, за нѣсколько верстъ отъ родительскаго дома. Туда-же прибываетъ женихъ съ сверстниками, на лошадяхъ. Она садится на особую, для нея приведенную, лошадь и затѣмъ вся кавалькада скачетъ обратно, въ домъ жениха или какого нибудь вліятельнаго лица. Никакая погоня не въ состояніи отнять невѣсту у похитителей, ибо они, въ случаѣ необходимости, готовы драться за нее до послѣдней капли крови. Вскорѣ послѣ похищенія, сама дѣвушка всенародно объявляетъ, что похищеніе совершилось по ея личному желанію и что она только и можетъ быть счастлива съ своимъ похитителемъ. Тутъ начинаются взаимные уговоры, и все кончается миромъ: зять приноситъ подарки матери и отцу невѣсты, и дѣло прекращается.

Нужно замѣтить, что абхазецъ никогда не похищаетъ дѣвушки изъ низшаго, чѣмъ самъ званія. Это считалось-бы безчестіемъ для самого похитителя. Напротивъ, каждый старается похитить дѣвушку болѣе высшаго происхожденія или, по крайней мѣрѣ, равную ему самому. Сдѣлать дѣвушкѣ предложеніе и получить отъ нея или ея родителей отказъ считается кровнымъ оскорбленіемъ;

въэтомъ случаѣ. единственнымъ способомъ удовлетворенія оскорбленнаго самолюбія считается похищеніе. Обыкновенно-же переговоры о женитьбѣ въ Абхазіи ведутъ свахи или посредники. Если они доводятъ дѣло до благополучнаго исхода, то за свой трудъ получаютъ головы и шкуры зарѣзанныхъ на свадьбѣ воловъ. Какъ только состоится обоюдное согласіе сторонъ, женихъ и невѣста, обмѣнявшись подарками, назначаютъ день для свиданія.

Въ назначенное время женихъ съ дружками отправляется съ подарками въ домъ родителей невѣсты. Женихъ-князь иногда пригоняетъ до 20-30 лошадей, изъ которыхъ многія бываютъ осѣдланы. Тутъ устраивается пиръ на счетъ жениха. Во время пиршества дружки жениха, съ одной стороны, и приглашенные родителями невѣсты, съ другой, всячески стараются превзойти другъ друга остротами, каламбурами, краснорѣчіемъ, количествомъ выпитаго вина, пѣніемъ и пр. На другой день дружки жениха получаютъ разные подарки, а женихъ коня, или деньги и оружіе. Затѣмъ дружки возвращаются, а зять остается въ домѣ родителей невѣсты со своимъ уполномоченнымъ (дадэ).

Но будущій зять чувствуетъ себя пока очень неловко. По обычаю страны, онъ не можетъ еще показываться родителямъ невѣсты и ихъ родственникамъ. Онъ окутанъ буркой, голова и лицо его обвязаны башлыкомъ, изъ-подъ котораго чуть видны только глаза. Въ первую ночь, во время пира, онъ скрывается гдѣ нибудь на дворѣ и ночуетъ въ сосѣднемъ домѣ. На другой-же день его насильно приводятъ въ домъ невѣсты. Но и тутъ онъ не смѣетъ садиться и молча стоитъ у дверей, предоставляя уполномоченному отвѣчать за себя. Вообще, молодому зятю не подобаетъ обѣдать съ тестемъ и тещей, а въ другое время—садиться съ ними за трапезу. Въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстностяхъ мужъ и жена никогда не показываются вмѣстѣ родителямъ жены. Это считается стыдомъ.

Невѣста поселяется въ маленькомъ домикѣ—амһара, откуда не выходитъ до тѣхъ поръ, пока въ большомъ домѣ не устроятъ пира. Тогда ее ведутъ въ домъ, и одинъ изъ пожилыхъ друзей семейства или самъ отецъ продѣваетъ кусокъ печенки на вертелъ и начинаетъ молиться и высказывать пожеланія, чтобы предстоящая чета была счастлива, плодовита и пр.

Когда женихъ изъ дома родителей невѣсты возвращается въ домъ отца, онъ и тутъ не имѣетъ права показываться родителямъ и старшимъ родственникамъ. Это считается также неприличнымъ. Онъ является только послѣ пира, устроеннаго его отцомъ. Тутъ повторяются тѣ-же благословенія и пожеланія, какъ и при выводѣ невѣсты изъ ея амhара, при чемъ онъ дѣлаетъ подарки своей матери, отцу, дядѣ, воспитателю и, вообще, всѣмъ старшимъ родственникамъ. Этотъ пиръ носитъ названіе апhхашархэ (доля стыда, устранитель стыда).

По изготовленіи приданаго, родители невѣсты приглашаютъ къ себѣ будущаго зятя, чтобы вручить ему свою дочь; въ назначенное время женихъ является за нею со своими дружками и съ ея подругами. Возвращаясь домой съ невѣстою, по дорогѣ поютъ свадебную пѣсню бэдніэра (счастіе), джигитуютъ на лошадяхъ, стрѣляютъ изъ пистолетовъ и проч. Приближаясь къ дому жениха, посылаютъ кого нибудь впередъ извѣстить его отца и мать о пріѣздѣ невѣсты. Такой вѣстникъ останавливается гдѣ нибудь у воротъ дома и молча дѣлаетъ изъ пистолета выстрѣлъ на воздухъ. Въ домѣ ему даютъ отвѣдать меду или сахару.

Тѣмъ временемъ свадебный поѣздъ достигаетъ дома. Тутъ дружки и подруги нѣкоторое время тѣшатся громаднымъ круглымъ просянымъ хлѣбомъ, перебрасывая его троекратно чрезъ невѣсту и домъ и разламывая его на кусочки, которые разбираются присутствующими. Послѣ этого невѣсту вводятъ въ домъ, въ дверяхъ котораго два человѣка держатъ скрещенныя надъ головами шашки. На порогѣ ей даютъ отвѣдать меду или сахару, приговаривая при этомъ: „да дастъ тебѣ Богъ такой-же сладкій языкъ". Вошедшей въ домъ невѣстѣ даютъ въ руки чашку, наполненную зернами гоми, на которыя положено яйцо. Затѣмъ ее три раза обводятъ вокругъ очага, причемъ она разбрасываетъ зерна гоми. Посадивъ невѣсту, ей даютъ въ руки мальчика, какъ-бы въ предзнаменованіе того, что она то-же родитъ мальчика. Нѣсколько времени спустя, невѣсту вводятъ въ отдѣльный домикъ, амhара, и тогда начинается настоящій свадебный пиръ.

На второй и въ слѣдующій затѣмъ дни приходятъ родственники, знакомятся съ невѣстою и подносятъ ей подарки каждый по своему состоянію. Когда хотятъ знакомиться съ невѣстой, то ея уполномоченная подруга (дадэ) приподнимаетъ съ ея лица покрывало, которымъ она закрыта; посѣтители привѣтствуютъ невѣсту, а она, не произнося ни слова, стоитъ прямо, спокойно, опустивъ глаза внизъ. Отвѣты даетъ, вмѣсто нея, ея подруга. По прошествіи-же достаточнаго времени послѣ свадьбы, на всякій предлагаемый ей вопросъ она, вмѣсто „да“ и „нѣтъ“, киваетъ только головой.

Въ амhара молодая остается нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ; потомъ ее приглашаютъ въ главный домъ, и съ этого времени на нее переходятъ всѣ заботы по семейству. Она старается угождать всегда свекрови и свекру и поступать по ихъ желаніямъ. Впродолженіи нѣсколькихъ мѣсяцевъ, она не говоритъ ни съ кѣмъ; потомъ начинаетъ говорить сначала съ меньшими домочадцами и сельчанами, а затѣмъ уже и со старшими; позже-же всѣхъ начинаетъ говорить со свекромъ и свекровью. Новую невѣстку всѣ односельчане величаютъ „нашею невѣсткой“; къ ней приносятъ разное шитье, которое она и исполняетъ безвозмездно.

Молодая чета, впродолженіи многихъ лѣтъ, вмѣстѣ не показывается родителямъ мужа: въ ихъ присутствіи, до самой смерти, они не могутъ вмѣстѣ обѣдать. Въ разговорѣ со старшими (будутъ-ли то родственники, или посторонніе) жена не можетъ сказать о мужѣ — „мой мужъ“, и мужъ о своей женѣ — „моя жена“. Невѣстка не можетъ садиться на ту скамью, на которой сидѣли свекоръ и свекровь. Жена никогда не можетъ назвать мужа своего по имени и въ необходимыхъ случаяхъ, вмѣсто этого, обходится мѣстоимѣніями: „ты“, „онъ“. Точно также она не называетъ по имени деверей, воспитателей мужа, членовъ семьи, старшихъ въ селеніи и проч. Мужъ-же не произноситъ только имени жены. Когда теща и тесть впервые посѣтятъ зятя, то онъ долженъ поднести имъ подарки, равно какъ и въ томъ случаѣ, когда самъ онъ съ женою первый разъ отправляется къ родителямъ жены.

V.

Оплакиваніе и похороны усопшихъ.

Абхазцы весьма сострадательны, вообще, къ больнымъ, а опасно больныхъ никогда не оставляютъ одинокими. Когда сельчане узнаютъ, что такой-то ихъ собратъ тяжко боленъ, то обязательно всѣ навѣщаютъ его, разспрашиваютъ о болѣзни, ободряютъ и стараются его развеселить. Навѣщаютъ больного не только родственники, но и всѣ прочіе сельчане, безъ различія званій и состояній. Къ больному обыкновенно приходятъ по вечерамъ и проводятъ около него цѣлую ночь, поютъ, пляшутъ или разсказываютъ сказки, отпускаютъ остроты и пр., съ цѣлью какъ нибудь развеселить больного и такъ или иначе облегчить его страданія. Больныхъ лечатъ домашними средствами, старушки-знахарки читаютъ надъ ними свои молитвы и пр.

Какъ только больной умретъ, женщины тотчасъ подымаютъ оглушительный вой и потрясающій душу крикъ, при чемъ рвутъ на себѣ волосы, царапаютъ себѣ тѣло, бьютъ себя по лицу, по головѣ и проч. Между тѣмъ, собирается весь околотокъ; плачъ и рыданіе увеличиваются. Нѣкоторыя женщины, изъ близкой родни умершаго, начинаютъ побивать себя, ударяться головами обо что нибудь; другія-же стараются ихъ угомонить, успокоить. Но всѣ эти увѣщанія часто не дѣйствуютъ на изступленныхъ плакальщицъ, и онѣ, вслѣдствіе наносимыхъ себѣ побоевъ по тѣлу и головѣ и ударовъ головою обо что-нибудь, сами падаютъ за-мертво. Когда, наконецъ, воцаряется тишина, устанавливается церемоніалъ похоронъ. Ближайшая родня шьетъ себѣ траурныя платья; посылаются гонцы съ извѣщеніями и приглашеніями къ родственникамъ, воспитателямъ, друзьямъ и знакомымъ умершаго; односельчане-же, и безъ приглашеній, обязаны придти на оплакиванье. Умершаго кладутъ въ гробъ. Позади гроба усаживаются женщины въ траурныхъ нарядахъ, босыя, съ разодранными платьями, до-крови исцарапанными лицами и распущенными волосами. Съ другой стороны, къ гробу подходятъ плакальщики и плакальщицы. Самый порядокъ оплакиванья таковъ. Идутъ, положимъ, для оплакиванья усопшаго 4—5 женщинъ. Какъ только онѣ вступятъ во дворъ, тотчасъ-же начинаютъ плакать и кричать „авав“, при чемъ прикладываютъ пальцы къ вискамъ и, пока не окончатъ своего „авав“, бороздятъ ими лицо до подбородка. На ихъ „авав“ сидящія у гроба женщины отвѣчаютъ такимъ-же возгласомъ. Плакальщицы медленно приближаются къ дому. Вой и рыданія ихъ, мало по малу, усиливаются, затѣмъ онѣ заходятъ въ домъ, гдѣ уже происходитъ настоящее общее оплакиванье. Плакальщики-же, ударяя себя по лбу и въ грудь, заходятъ въ домъ, становятся предъ гробомъ на колѣни и оплакиваютъ такъ усопшаго.

Въ другомъ отдѣленіи дома выставлены вещи усопшаго, его платье и оружіе. Послѣ оплакиванья усопшаго, плачъ и рыданіе происходятъ и надъ его вещами.

Соболѣзнованіе роднымъ усопшаго высказывается посѣтителями въ слѣдующей формѣ: „Пусть-бы не случилось этого съ вами; пусть-бы вы услышали, вмѣсто этого, о моей смерти...“ и т. д.

Кормилица умершаго или ея дѣти, приходя на оплакиваніе воспитанника, еще за версту отъ дома подымаютъ вой и крикъ. Во дворѣ ихъ встрѣчаютъ нарочно поставленные люди, которые вводятъ ихъ подъ руку въ домъ. Это не мѣшаетъ вновь прибывшимъ на ходу до-крови исцарапывать себѣ щеки и шею, биться головами объ столбы дома, пока онѣ, полумертвыя, не опустятся предъ гробомъ, обливаясь слезами. Воспитатель и его дѣти также бичуютъ себя по головѣ и лицу.

Въ день похоронъ оплакиванье усопшаго бываетъ всеобщее. Затѣмъ, послѣ оплакиванья, устраивается тризна и угощаются всѣ посѣтители хлѣбомъ, виномъ и постными яствами, а къ вечеру уже хоронятъ усопшаго.

Необходимо отмѣтить еще одну характерную черту. Когда умираетъ глава семьи и печальное шествіе съ его останками уже тронулось къ кладбищу,—то чрезъ его домъ перекидывается веревка, которую держатъ за концы два человѣка и тянутъ то въ одну, то въ другую сторону. Смыслъ этого оригинальнаго обычая, распространеннаго и въ Мингреліи, таковъ: со смертью главы семьи и выносомъ его на кладбище, домъ начинаетъ расшатываться и грозитъ рухнуть, и чтобы это отвратить, прибѣгаютъ къ веревкѣ. Послѣ выноса тѣла, когда домъ остается цѣлъ и невредимъ, дѣлаютъ ружейный выстрѣлъ въ знакъ радости.

Могилы для мужчинъ роютъ глубиною до поясницы, а для женщинъ еще глубже, такъ какъ, по мнѣнію нѣкоторой части абхазцевъ, женщина вообще хитра и лукава (паіван), и абхазская поговорка утверждаетъ: „что имѣешь на умѣ, не сообщай женѣ, иначе она и изъ могилы выползетъ и разгласитъ твою тайну“. Поэтому усопшую хоронятъ глубже и насыпаютъ на нее больше земли.

Уложивъ усопшаго въ могилу, эту послѣднюю обставляютъ деревянными досками, а потомъ сверху засыпаютъ землею.

У абхазцевъ спеціальныхъ кладбищъ не имѣется. Каждая фамилія имѣетъ свое особое кладбище. Чаще для кладбищъ служатъ высокія и горныя мѣста, гдѣ проходитъ общая дорога. Туристъ или путешественникъ легко замѣтитъ, что въ Абхазіи самыя лучшія и поэтическія мѣста заняты кладбищами.

Заботы объ усопшемъ продолжаются еще долго послѣ его похоронъ. Мать и жена умершаго, кормилица или ея дочери, одѣтыя въ трауръ, на босую ногу, каждый день, по утрамъ и вечерамъ, посѣщаютъ свѣжую могилу, горько оплакиваютъ усопшаго и просятъ его помочь имъ въ разныхъ житейскихъ заботахъ, ходатайствовать за нихъ предъ другими усопшими, передать имъ поклонъ отъ нихъ и пр. Такъ продолжается до 40 дней или до „субботнихъ поминокъ“. До этого-же времени въ домѣ бываютъ выставлены вещи усопшаго и вновь прибывающіе оплакиватели сначала плачутъ надъ этими вещами, а потомъ и надъ могилой. Также до этого времени, и часто впродолженіи цѣлаго года, при всякомъ завтракѣ и ужинѣ, на столъ кладется и доля усопшаго.

На сороковой день или въ одну изъ субботъ устраиваютъ поминки по усопшемъ. Рѣжутъ барана и приготовляютъ скоромныя блюда. Родственники усопшаго, которые постились до сихъ поръ, только въ этотъ день разговляются. Впрочемъ, мать и кормилица постятся цѣлый годъ.

Вторыя поминки сопряжены еще съ большими расходами. Эти поминки называются апһсхувра (აპჰსხუვრა *). Рѣжутъ при этомъ животныхъ, тратятъ много и стараются, по возможности, удовлетворить душу усопшаго. Абхазцы увѣрены, что неудовлетворенная душа можетъ повредить не только ихъ имуществу, но и имъ самимъ. Эти поминки устраиваются на второй годъ по смерти усопшаго, чаще осенью, когда всего имѣется въ изобиліи.

Ко дню апһсхувра созываются гости для оплакиванья усопшаго. Иногда въ этотъ-же день въ честь умершаго устраивается и марула (скачки). Если скачки назначены заранѣе, то объ этомъ своевременно сообщается всѣмъ чрезъ нарочныхъ. Между тѣмъ, хозяева заготовляютъ обильные запасы провизіи животными, виномъ, сыромъ, хлѣбомъ и пр. Накачунѣ апһсхувра выставляютъ вещи умершаго, и тутъ-же привязываютъ коня усопшаго, съ траурной попоной. На сѣдлѣ коня вѣшаютъ оружіе усопшаго: ружье, постолетъ, кинжалъ, шашку, кнутъ и пр.; затѣмъ происходитъ оплакиванье надъ могилой и останками.

А вотъ и эта картина. Стоитъ толпа людей обоего пола, босыхъ, одѣтыхъ въ трауръ. Волосы у мужчинъ заплетены въ косы, какъ у женщинъ. Къ нимъ направляются пѣшіе и конные, причемъ ведутъ по одному или по два быка, по нѣскольку барановъ и, вообще, кто что можетъ, и несутъ разныя сладости, приготовленныя на маслѣ и на меду, также мацони (кислое

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*) апһс—душа, ху—доля, порядокъ, вра—дѣлать, совершать, т. е. совершеніе поминокъ въ честь души усопшаго.

молоко) и пр. Одинъ изъ идущихъ держитъ въ рукѣ вѣтвистую, деревообразную свѣчу, на которой укрѣпленъ лоскутокъ миткаля зеленаго цвѣта, пропитанный воскомъ. На вершинахъ вѣтокъ и вѣточекъ навѣшаны такіе-же лоскутки, колеблемые вѣтромъ, подобно листьямъ дерева. (Если шествіе происходитъ ночью, то къ вѣтвеобразной свѣчѣ прикрѣпляютъ нѣсколько зажженныхъ свѣчекъ, также, какъ и къ рогамъ быковъ). Печальная процессія медленно приближается къ дому и входитъ во дворъ, гдѣ ее встрѣчаютъ другіе. Тутъ происходитъ рыданіе и плачъ, отдѣльно женщинъ и мужчинъ. Послѣ этого рѣжутъ быковъ и барановъ, при чемъ каждый разъ приговариваютъ: „приносится душѣ твоей“.

На другой день, т. е. въ день апѣсхувра, собирается множество народа. Къ полудню одинъ изъ родственниковъ усопшаго отвязываетъ его коня и становится посреди поляны, а возлѣ него устанавливаются въ кругъ женщины и мужчины. Затѣмъ конь троекратно обводится въ кругу; за конемъ слѣдуетъ ближайшая родня усопшаго, въ траурѣ, съ обнаженными головами и босыми ногами, горько рыдая. Мужчины ударяютъ себя въ грудь и лицо. Женщины, стоящія въ кругу, раздѣлившись на двѣ партіи, попеременно возглашаютъ „авав“. Эта церемонія оканчивается выведеніемъ коня изъ круга; съ этого времени считаются уничтоженными всякіе земные знаки (останки) усопшаго, до того-же и самъ усопшій признавался невидимо присутствующимъ тутъ, среди собранія.

Послѣ этого гости садятся обѣдать. Для нихъ на полянѣ, подъ открытымъ небомъ, накрыта длинная скатерть и приготовлены различныя яства. Особенное вниманіе обращаютъ на себя сдѣланныя изъ сыра ложки, чашки, стаканы, наперстки и пр. Тутъ-же ставятся вышеописанныя свѣчи.

Слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что хотя это угощеніе стоитъ чрезвычайно дорого, но оно необременительно для хозяевъ, потому что въ расходахъ принимаютъ участіе не только родственники, но и цѣлое селеніе, въ которомъ устраивается такая тризна.

Послѣ обѣда происходитъ джирити, напоминающій турниры среднихъ вѣковъ. Вотъ прекрасный полъ занялъ сѣни дома. Молодые конные парни собрались предъ красавицами и въ рѣчахъ на-перерывъ стараются выказать остроуміе, находчивость и знаніе, а въ предстоящей джигитовкѣ—свою храбрость.

Главная джигитовка, тарчэя (თარჩეჲ), состоитъ въ слѣдующемъ. Одинъ изъ состязающихся всадниковъ беретъ у хозяина пира или у какой нибудь красавицы лоскутки ситца, сшитый сапожокъ, четки изъ каштановъ, или что нибудь другое и, держа въ рукѣ этотъ тарчэй, скачетъ съ нимъ впередъ, а другіе парни за нимъ въ догонку и стараются его поймать и отнять тарчэй. Если это удается, то тарчэй переходитъ въ руки того, кто отнялъ его у перваго всадника: теперь скачетъ этотъ, а другіе снова несутся за нимъ въ догонку. Побѣдителемъ остается тотъ, кого не съумѣютъ изловить и кто довезетъ тарчэй до мѣста, откуда началось состязаніе. Состязаніе наѣздниковъ этимъ, однако, еще не заканчивается: они продолжаютъ гарцовать на лошадяхъ, подымаютъ на всемъ скаку, съ земли, деньги и пр.

На поминкахъ устраиваются иногда и состязанія въ скачкѣ. Наѣздниками являются дѣти 8—9 лѣтъ. Для состязающихся назначается мѣсто, и кто первый къ нему прискачетъ, выигрываетъ что нибудь. Въ этомъ случаѣ, хозяева дарятъ побѣдителямъ коня усопшаго, какое нибудь животное, или хак (аршинъ или же пядь) ситца.

VI.

Религіозныя вѣрованія абхазцевъ.

„До 1867 года, говоритъ г. А. въ своей прекрасной статьѣ объ Абхазіи, религіозное состояніе абхазцевъ представляло полнѣйшій сумбуръ. Здѣсь можно было встрѣтить обряды всѣхъ вѣроученій, начиная отъ фетишизма до христіанства. Точнаго понятія народъ не имѣлъ ни объ одной религіи, а усвоилъ себѣ отъ каждой изъ нихъ то, что выдавалось болѣе рельефно и сильнѣе дѣйствовало на его почти дѣтское воображеніе" *). Г.-же Гіоргидзе говоритъ: „Нынѣ большинство абхазцевъ исповѣдуетъ христіанскую вѣру, а меньшинство—магометанскую. Но, несмотря на это, абхазецъ мало свѣдущъ и въ той и въ другой религіи и скорѣе онъ—язычникъ, чѣмъ христіанинъ или магометанинъ" **).

1.

Души усопшихъ —Ихъ странствія по землѣ.

Абхазецъ вѣритъ, что человѣческая жизнь не кончается земнымъ существованіемъ и что она продолжается и за гробомъ, или, говоря словами абхазца, „на той сторонѣ“. Онъ также вѣритъ, что эта загробная жизнь продолжается на томъ именно мѣстѣ, гдѣ похороненъ усопшій. Поэтому-то недостаточно, напр., достать изъ воды трупъ утопленника и предать его землѣ, но должно изъ воды вызвать и душу его и впустить ее въ ту могилу, въ которой зарытъ трупъ утопленника. Вотъ какъ совершается церемоніалъ вызова и изловленія души утопленника. На обоихъ берегахъ рѣки, откуда вытащенъ былъ трупъ утопленника, собираются мужчины и женщины. Надъ рѣкой, съ одного берега до другого, перекидываютъ шелковую нитку; на ней вѣшаютъ кожаную котомку, которая нижнимъ концомъ чуть касается поверхности рѣчной воды. Собравшіеся мужчины и женщины начинаютъ подпѣвать подъ звуки балалайки. Абхазецъ увѣренъ, что душа утопленника, заслышавъ звуки балалайки и пѣніе, выходитъ изъ воды и входитъ въ котомку. Когда, по мнѣнію абхазца, она находится уже въ котомкѣ, онъ бросается въ воду и завязываетъ котомку. Затѣмъ, съ ликованіями, доставляютъ котомку на кладбище, гдѣ чрезъ просверленное въ ней отверстіе впускаютъ изловленную душу въ могилу утопленника.

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*) См. Сборн. свѣд. о кавк. горц., вып. V.

**) Иверія за 1888 г.

Усопшіе въ Абхазіи пользуются большимъ почетомъ. Кладбища, какъ мы уже сказали, бываютъ на высокихъ живописныхъ мѣстахъ и обводятся заборами. Надъ могилами строятся крытые храмины дома, какихъ абхазцы, вообще, себѣ не строятъ. У могилъ сажаютъ разныя плодовыя деревья: яблони, груши, персиковыя, айвовыя и пр.; на самыхъ-же могилахъ кладутъ ломти дыни, арбуза, огурцы и пр. Все это, опять-таки, служитъ подтвержденіемъ того повѣрья, что въ загробной жизни души усопшихъ также, какъ живые люди, нуждаются въ ѣдѣ, питьѣ, жилищахъ и пр.

И дѣйствительно, абхазецъ, положивши, напр., кусокъ дыни на могилѣ усопшаго, увѣренъ, что онъ имъ полакомится. Благодаря такому повѣрью, въ продолженіи почти цѣлаго года по смерти усопшаго, за каждымъ обѣдомъ и ужиномъ кладется на столѣ особая доля для умершаго, совершаются поминки по немъ и пр. Кромѣ этого, поминки по недавно умершимъ бываютъ ежегодно наканунѣ родительской субботы, а въ самую родительскую субботу поминки по преждеумершимъ. Глава семьи, при убоѣ жертвеннаго животнаго, возглашаетъ: „Если существуетъ загробная жизнь, приносится (жертва) для твоей души“. Затѣмъ, когда яства приготовлены и положены на скатерть, тотъ-же глава семьи, становясь предъ скатертью, опять возглашаетъ: „Усопшіе, благодать вашихъ душъ даруйте намъ! не повредите насъ смертью (умерщвленіемъ)! прибавляйте (размножайте) насъ, нашъ скотъ! не лишите насъ вашей защиты и покрова!“ и пр. По окончаніи этого возгласа, желѣзнымъ вертеломъ, надъ скатертью, въ воздухѣ, онъ дѣлаетъ крестное знаменіе и причитываетъ: „Все это, пріуготовленное силою огня и воды, если вправду существуетъ загробная жизнь, жертвуется душамъ вашимъ“. Сказавъ это, глава семьи беретъ стаканъ вина и выпиваетъ; послѣ этого, въ ломоть гоми всовываетъ кусочки сердца и печенки жертвеннаго животнаго, возливаетъ на него немного вина и выбрасываетъ ломоть на дворъ, при словахъ: „А это вамъ, душамъ-проводникамъ и сопровождающимъ“. Изъ этого видно, что живыхъ сородичей, по религіознымъ представленіямъ абхазцевъ, посѣщаютъ души усопшихъ, вмѣстѣ съ прочими душами, сопровождающими ихъ. И абхазецъ увѣренъ, что чѣмъ онѣ (души усопшихъ) пышнѣе будутъ встрѣчены и угощены, тѣмъ довольнѣе и благодарнѣе останутся и тѣмъ больше содѣйствія и покровительства окажутъ онѣ живымъ.—въ противномъ-же случаѣ, онѣ будутъ только вредить имъ. Души, оставшіяся довольными пріемомъ, по возвращеніи къ душамъ другихъ умершихъ сородичей, высказываютъ имъ свою радость и хвалятся, съ какими большими почестями приняли ихъ; недовольныя-же возвращаются чрезвычайно огорченными, и когда другія души ихъ разспрашиваютъ объ оказанномъ имъ пріемѣ, то отвѣчаютъ: „Что-жь бы мы у нихъ нашли, когда и сами они, оказывается, такіе-же мертвецы, какъ и мы“. Въ этомъ случаѣ, по вѣрованію абхазца, жертвами страшнѣйшаго гнѣва неудовлетворенныхъ душъ усопшихъ обязательно дѣлаются нѣсколько членовъ семьи, не съумѣвшей должнымъ образомъ угостить души своихъ усопшихъ родичей.

Абхазцы твердо убѣждены, что души усопшихъ выходятъ изъ могилъ и посѣщаютъ своихъ живыхъ сородичей. Онѣ становятся возлѣ домовъ и свистятъ, ихъ задабриваютъ возліяніемъ вина или выбрасываніемъ чего нибудь. Души усопшихъ, особенно по ночамъ, любятъ выходить изъ могилъ, становятся у дороги и, когда увидятъ путника, бѣгутъ за нимъ въ догонку. Послушаемъ, какъ разсказываютъ сами абхазцы о важномъ значеніи поминокъ.

1. „Сесрква былъ извѣстный храбрецъ. При одномъ набѣгѣ, онъ лишился въ схваткѣ всѣхъ своихъ ста сотоварищей: всѣхъ ихъ перебили. Сесрква зарѣзалъ множество быковъ, барановъ и устроилъ поминки по сотоварищамъ. Затѣмъ онъ и самъ былъ

убитъ въ какой-то стычкѣ и неизвѣстно гдѣ похороненъ. Его другъ изъявилъ однажды желаніе отыскать могилу Сеерквы и оплакать его. Послѣ долгихъ поисковъ, наконецъ, онъ нашелъ ее, оплакалъ Сееркву, и такъ какъ до селенія было далеко, а время было позднее, то онъ рѣшился тутъ-же заночевать. Привязавъ лошадь къ дереву, онъ прилегъ подъ дубомъ и скоро заснулъ. Во снѣ ему снится, что сто убитыхъ молодцовъ Сеерквы въ загробной жизни находятся въ прекрасномъ положеніи: они довольны всѣмъ, ибо и гостей съ почетомъ принимаютъ, и лошадей своихъ хорошо кормятъ; Сеерква-же и его лошадь скитаются голодные и питаются только подаяніями тѣхъ ста молодцовъ. Увидѣвъ героя Сееркву въ такомъ положеніи, другъ спрашиваетъ его: ,,Сеерква! ты превосходилъ всѣхъ на бѣломъ свѣтѣ; что-же такое приключилось съ тобою въ загробной жизни, что ты не можешь принять даже и одного гостя?" Сеерква отвѣчаетъ: „Какъ мнѣ принимать гостей, когда я и самъ-то для себя и лошади выпрашиваю у другихъ!". Проснувшись, другъ догадался, что Сеерква по сію пору остается безъ поминокъ, и вотъ онъ немедленно-же устраиваетъ ему богатыя поминки. И еще разъ снится ему сонъ: Сеерква теперь въ такомъ-же прекрасномъ положеніи, какъ и сто его сподвижниковъ, и въ состояніи принимать гостей".

2. ,,Шли два человѣка; у одного изъ нихъ въ котомкѣ припрятанъ былъ жирный рѣзаный козелъ, со снятой шкурой. Вечернею порой кто-то сталъ ихъ преслѣдовать, посвистывая на бѣгу. Тогда человѣкъ съ ношей обратился къ нему и сказалъ: ,,Отстань, чего ты хочешь отъ меня?" Сказавъ это, опять продолжалъ путь, но привидѣніе не отставало. Товарищъ догадался, въ чемъ дѣло, и посовѣтовалъ другому отрѣзать кусокъ мяса и бросить привидѣнію. Совѣтъ принятъ, кусокъ мяса брошенъ,—свистъ и преслѣдованіе тотчасъ-же прекратились".

3. ,,Моквцы ежегодно устраивали поминки по своимъ усопшимъ, похороненнымъ въ верхней части кладбища, а морквульцы этого не дѣлали для своихъ усопшихъ, погребенныхъ въ нижней части. Поэтому, моквскіе усопшіе съ насмѣшкой кричали морквульскимъ: ,,Ничего ненаходящіе!" а тѣ имъ отвѣчали на это: ,,Когда наши сородичи найдутъ что нибудь для себя, такъ и намъ отъ нихъ перепадетъ". Эти усопшіе собирались вмѣстѣ по ночамъ и устраивали танцы на апhсца рквашартhа (мѣсто для танцевъ умершихъ). Слѣды ногъ танцующихъ душъ могъ видѣть всякій"

Души, какъ умершихъ, такъ и живыхъ людей, особенно-же вѣдьмъ, способны, по временамъ, совершать странствія съ злыми цѣлями, напр. высасывать молоко изъ сосцовъ, вынимать изъ груди сердце и печень и пр. Вѣдьмъ даже и водная стихія не принимаетъ, онѣ не тонутъ въ водѣ. Онѣ имѣютъ своего начальника Роскипи, который живетъ на вершинѣ горы Табакона. По степени своего могущества, онѣ раздѣлены на группы: младшія изъ нихъ обыкновенно путешествуютъ на мышахъ, лягушкахъ, кошкахъ и проч., а старшія—на лисицахъ, волкахъ и т. д. Наканунѣ Успенія всѣ онѣ обязаны собираться на Табакона для ежегоднаго отчета своему властелину Роскипи о своихъ дѣйствіяхъ и представлять ему вещественныя доказательства своей исправной службы: вынутое ими сердце человѣка, или животнаго, печень, глаза, ногти, волосы и пр. Чтобы избѣжать нападенія вѣдьмъ, абхазцы принимаютъ такія мѣры: во время Успенскаго поста ставятъ кресты, втыкаютъ себѣ въ волосы свѣчи, а наканунѣ Успенія стрѣляютъ изъ ружей, поютъ и цѣлую ночь проводятъ въ бдѣніи. Абхазецъ увѣренъ, что вѣдьма одновременно можетъ находиться у себя дома, между людьми, и на вершинѣ горы Табакона. Подобное раздвоеніе человѣка абхазцы объясняютъ тѣмъ, что странствуетъ не сама вѣдьма, а ея побочная душа (апһсччда=лишняя душа).

2.

Истинный Богъ.—Язычество.—Главные и второстепенные боги абхазцевъ.—Причины политеизма.—„Творцы“ и „выковыватели“.—Рокъ или предопредѣленіе.

Въ помощь верховному существу, говоритъ г. А-ъ, надѣленному всѣми качествами, которыми, по нашимъ представленіямъ, одаренъ Богъ, миѳологія абхазцевъ придала множество другихъ божествъ, опредѣливъ каждому изъ нихъ его спеціальное назначеніе. Эти подручныя божества, по ихъ понятію, созданы Всевышнимъ прежде человѣка и вселенной, и молящійся, чрезъ ихъ посредство, обращается къ самому Богу. Самъ Богъ никогда не сходитъ на землю, но если ему нужно кого либо наказать или ниспослать на кого нибудь свою милость, то онъ посылаетъ одного изъ своихъ помощниковъ. Въ молитвахъ, которыя произносятся и поются при жертвоприношеніяхъ и другихъ религіозныхъ обрядахъ абхазцы взываютъ къ богу: ахдау (или анца-дауква) злыпха-ххзура, что значитъ: Боже великій, милосердый, многомилостивый.

Кромѣ этого многомилостиваго бога, у абхазцевъ, какъ мы сказали, существуютъ еще другіе, второстепенные боги, необходимость созданія которыхъ вызывалась потребностями народа. Всякое атмосферическое явленіе, всякая опасность, угрожающая человѣку или его достоянію, всякій трудъ, обезпечивающій существованіе человѣка, создали въ дѣтскомъ воображеніи народа отдѣльныхъ, невидимо управляющихъ всѣмъ, покровителей. Божества эти не имѣютъ никакихъ изображеній, такъ какъ представляются въ различной формѣ, сообразной съ обстоятельствами, но тѣмъ не менѣе бытіе ихъ, по понятію абхазцевъ, несомнѣнно, ибо ощущается на всемъ хорошемъ и дурномъ, что только случается въ жизни человѣка. Каждый шагъ человѣка находится подъ ихъ контролемъ и всякое совращеніе съ истиннаго пути немедленно вызываетъ съ ихъ стороны наказаніе.

Нѣтъ сомнѣнія, что въ развитіи религіозныхъ идей и теистическихъ образовъ у абхазскаго народа, какъ это доказано наукой на множествѣ аналогичныхъ примѣровъ у другихъ первобытныхъ народовъ, громадную роль играли окружающая природа и ея явленія. На его младенческій умъ и воображеніе несомнѣнно сильное воздѣйствіе производило и лазуревое небо, необъятнымъ сводомъ опирающееся на землю и то грозно-сурово выглядывающее на нее изъ-за тучъ, то улыбающееся ей своими огненными глазами: днемъ—солнцемъ, а ночью —луною и звѣздами; вліяла на нихъ и сама мать-земля, ибо она, во-истину, есть мать, кормилица, производительница и источникъ благъ и изобилія; не оставались безъ вліянія на этотъ младенческій умъ солнце, этотъ „глазъ неба", согрѣвающее и оживотворяющее весь міръ; „стражъ ночи"—луна, незамѣтно плывущая по своду неба и побѣждающая ночную тьму; грозный громовой ударъ, наводящій страхъ и уничтожающій все по пути; воздухъ, то привѣтливо-тихій и спокойный, то грозно несущійся и воющій; разноцвѣтная, красивая радуга— этотъ „поясъ" неба; утренняя заря, эти „двери дня"... Все это и многое другое, конечно, сильно дѣйствовало на человѣка въ дѣтскомъ его возрастѣ, и немудрено, что абхазецъ все это, вмѣстѣ съ деревьями, лѣсами, полями и пр., олицетворяетъ и обоготворяетъ; обоготворяетъ нѣкоторыя существа за то, что они приносятъ ему пользу, а другія за то, что причиняютъ ему вредъ. Сообразно этому, миѳологія абхазца для каждаго рода дѣятельности и энергіи человѣка,—сельское-ли это хозяйство или промышленность, искусство или пастушество и пр.,—создала спеціальныя божества - покровителей. Таковы являются, напр., **Антһар**—покровитель скота, **Джаджа**--богъ посѣвовъ, **Шаша**—богъ кузнечнаго дѣла и др. Многіе изъ этихъ божествъ—женскаго рода; напр., покровительница водной стихіи, „мать воды"—женщина; самая земля олицетворена въ женскомъ родѣ; имѣется также „госпожа вѣтеръ"; предокъ скота—женскаго рода, предокъ козъ—тоже; богъ посѣвовъ—**Джаджа** и др.—также женскаго рода.

Кромѣ этихъ боговъ, имѣются еще **Ашаца—чапһаца**, боги „творцы" и „выковыватели". Ихъ бываетъ или два, или множество. Подъ воздѣйствіемъ христіанства, они представляются въ видѣ ангеловъ. Чрезъ Ашаца-чапһаца рождается „всякая душа" Новорожденному они опредѣляютъ его будущее, его счастіе и несчастіе, долготу жизни и часъ смерти и обо всемъ этомъ дѣлаютъ ему надпись на лбу (**лахинҕара**). Абхазецъ увѣренъ въ существованіи такихъ надписей на лбу человѣка и, по его убѣжденію, въ этомъ всякій можетъ увѣриться собственными глазами. Приведемъ, кстати, одинъ абхазскій разсказъ, иллюстрирующій неминуемость предопредѣленія, рока.

Въ ночной часъ два человѣка отправились на воровство. По пути ихъ застигъ сильный дождь. Они укрылись въ сѣняхъ хаты поселянина. Заглянувъ внутрь хаты, они увидѣли собравшихся женщинъ и роженицу, которая, вслѣдъ за тѣмъ, вскорѣ и родила дѣвочку. „Творцы" и „выковыватели" не замедлили явиться сюда. Одинъ изъ нихъ сказалъ: „Да будетъ новорожденная женою того изъ двухъ воровъ, который снаружи заглядываетъ въ домъ. Да будетъ это его предопредѣленіемъ". Второй изъ „творцовъ-выковывателей" подтвердилъ слова перваго. Воръ былъ уже въ среднихъ лѣтахъ, и, услышавъ это, онъ сказалъ: „Я ужъ и теперь не молодъ, а она только-что родилась; да избавитъ меня богъ отъ такой женитьбы". И вотъ онъ задумалъ убить новорожденнаго малютку: когда всѣ уснули въ домѣ, онъ тихо пробрался въ хату, взялъ ребенка, вышелъ на дворъ и, распоровъ ему животъ, забросилъ его на плоскую крышу хаты; затѣмъ оба они пошли своей дорогой. Плачъ ребенка разбудилъ женщинъ. Онѣ отыскали его, зашили шелковой ниткой рану и, такимъ образомъ, спасли его отъ смерти. Какъ ни старался жениться тотъ воръ, которому сдѣлано было вышеприведенное предопредѣленіе, ему не удавалось этого сдѣлать. Тѣмъ временемъ и дѣвочка, которую онъ считалъ умершею, достигла возраста замужества и, какъ то разъ, повстрѣчалась съ воромъ; онъ съ перваго-же раза влюбился въ нее и женился. Тутъ-то и обнаружилось, какъ неотложно исполняется всякое предопредѣленіе и рѣшеніе „творцовъ-выковывателей“.

VII.

Моленія въ честь божествъ.

Моленіями называются тѣ религіозные обряды и церемоніи, которые, сопровождаясь жертвоприношеніями въ честь боговъ, совершаются по извѣстному, издревле освященному и установленному, порядку.

Каждое божество, въ сферѣ своей дѣятельности, можетъ самостоятельно проявлять милость и гнѣвъ къ человѣку, напр. насылать на него самого или его скотъ болѣзни, несчастія и пр. Факты прогнѣвленія божествъ отступленіями отъ установленнаго порядка религіозной обрядности абхазцы легко устанавливаютъ по особымъ примѣтамъ. Для отвращенія гнѣва божествъ за упущенія въ молитвахъ и при жертвоприношеніяхъ надо повторить приношенія и восполнить то, что упущено; неисправленныя ошибки и упущенія въ обрядности ложатся тяжкою виною предъ прогнѣвленнымъ божествомъ даже на отдаленнѣйшія поколѣнія прогнѣвителей. Когда кто заболѣетъ, вслѣдствіе обрядовой виновности предъ какимъ нибудь богомъ, то для выздоровленія обязательно долженъ принести ему жертву. Если самъ онъ, по болѣзни, не въ силахъ этого сдѣлать, то представляетъ въ залогъ какую нибудь вещь, приговаривая: „если ты (богъ) это (болѣзнь) насылаешь за мою вину, то облегчи; какъ подобаетъ тебѣ и какъ объяснитъ мнѣ кудесникъ, я помолюсь“. Но когда неизвѣстно въ точности, какое божество гнѣвается и причинило болѣзнь, то говорятъ: „по чьей бы причинѣ ни случилась болѣзнь, восполню все, какъ будетъ объяснено кудесниками“. Залогъ, какъ священная вещь, хранится особо, до исполненія обѣта. Исполнителями молитвъ при такихъ религіозныхъ обрядахъ являются мужчины или женщины, смотря по тому, какого пола божество, въ честь котораго совершается данная церемонія.

Перехожу къ описанію самыхъ церемоній.

1.

Церемонія въ честь матери-земли.

Безгрѣшная женщина, взявъ шесть орѣховъ и нѣсколько зеренъ проса, ведетъ больного къ ольховому дереву. Здѣсь она обноситъ три орѣха и нѣсколько просяныхъ зеренъ вокругъ дерева, во имя земли; потомъ тоже самое дѣлаетъ вокругъ орѣшника (грецкаго), во имя Адабна, прося его смилозаться надъ больнымъ. Затѣмъ она дѣлаетъ богато-убранную куклу человѣка, которую и хоронитъ въ землѣ, для „освобожденія“ больного, и при этомъ возглашаетъ: „вмѣсто больного, поиграй и потѣшься надъ этимъ. Послѣ этого, пекутъ большой просяной хлѣбъ — „хлѣбъ земли-матери“, и еще два длинныхъ хлѣба для Адабна. Та-же женщина беретъ по ломтю отъ всѣхъ четырехъ краевъ перваго хлѣба, оба хлѣба въ честь Адабна, свѣчу и ладанъ и, вмѣстѣ съ больнымъ, идетъ къ перекрестку трехъ дорогъ; здѣсь она кладетъ у одной дороги ломти просяного хлѣба, у другой—хлѣбы Адабна, а у третьей зажигаетъ свѣчи и тутъ-же кладетъ чевяки (обувь), приговаривая: „госпожа земля, это твоя обувь!“ Затѣмъ, среди разложенныхъ вещей, ставитъ на колѣни больного съ „чикилою“ (родъ вуаля) на головѣ и проситъ: „Адгил-анху, Атула-анхусэ, даруй ему твою благодать! подаждь ему крѣпость головы, сердца, тѣла! подаждь ему цвѣтъ, кожу, кость! вороти ему желаніе говорить, работать! дай ему силу! избавь его отъ лукаваго“ и пр.; точно также она молится и Адьбиу. Послѣ сего женщина сбрасываетъ съ больного орѣховымъ пруткомъ чикилу, приподымаетъ его, ударяетъ по спинѣ хлыстомъ и говоритъ: „ступай, съ этого дня даю тебѣ свободу (азати)“, и затѣмъ оба идутъ домой. Здѣсь разламываютъ по-поламъ просяной хлѣбъ; двѣ женщины берутъ по половинѣ этого хлѣба и становятся по обѣ стороны очага, одна противъ другой; больной троекратно проходитъ между ними подъ хлѣбомъ, при чемъ одна изъ женщинъ восклицаетъ: „дай мнѣ принявшаго еврейскую вѣру“, а другая: „дай мнѣ обращеннаго въ христіанство“.

Абхазецъ увѣренъ, что невидимое существо, вселившееся въ больного, оставляя его, тотчасъ спѣшитъ перейдти въ другого, и вотъ, чтобы помочь ему найдти новую жертву, ему молятся на перекресткѣ трехъ дорогъ, гдѣ происходитъ постоянное движеніе народа и, слѣдовательно, всегда найдется, въ кого перейдти—искать долго не придется. А такъ какъ болѣзнь можно захватить даже отъ мѣста, гдѣ случайно упалъ или сѣлъ человѣкъ, то обрядъ умилостивленія земли долженъ происходить на самомъ мѣстѣ паденія или сидѣнья, откуда началась болѣзнь, и тутъ-же слѣдуетъ зарыть куклу. Поэтому-то абхазецъ, чтобы на томъ мѣстѣ, гдѣ онъ случайно сѣлъ, не захватить чего нибудь недобраго, троекратно плюетъ, вставая съ земли, и приговариваетъ: „Тутъ былъ дѣдушки моего домъ-дворъ!"

2.

Церемонія въ честь воды.

Когда кто-нибудь долго болѣетъ лихорадкою, то за совѣтомъ и помощью обращаются къ гадальщицѣ: та обыкновенно приказываетъ молиться водѣ, которая считается причиной болѣзни; а такъ какъ покровительница водъ, „мать воды"—женщина, то на церемонію приглашается безгрѣшная старушка.

Мѣстомъ пребыванія „матери воды" считается большое, чистое, неприступное прѣсное озеро; она можетъ жить также въ чистомъ источникѣ, котораго не касается ничто нечистое, напр. свинья и т. п. „Мать воды" выходитъ иногда изъ своего жилища на берегъ, и въ это время ее всѣмъ можно видѣть. Вотъ какъ описываютъ абхазцы эту „мать воды". Она —красивѣйшая обворожительная женщина; локоны у нея безподобные, каштановые, глаза смѣющіеся. Обвороженный ею, абхазецъ говоритъ своимъ сверстникамъ: „Эхъ, братцы, меня побѣдила мать воды, и съ этого дня я уже не принадлежу вашему обществу. Недавно я заѣхалъ въ глухой лѣсъ, въ которомъ, подъ большимъ дубомъ, увидѣлъ приготовленную трапезу; тутъ-же стояло зеркало и горѣла свѣча; предъ зеркаломъ сидѣла „мать воды" и, улыбаясь собственной красотѣ, причесывала свои длинные, до земли спустившіеся, волосы. У меня опустились руки въ изнеможеніи, я не могъ оторвать глазъ отъ такого удивительнаго видѣнія. Замѣтивъ меня, она тотчасъ прибрала волосы и пошла ко мнѣ. У меня закружилась голова... Не произнося ни слова, она подняла вверхъ всѣ десять пальцевъ, спрашивая меня этимъ: „согласишься или нѣтъ быть моимъ мужемъ впродолженіи десяти лѣтъ?.." Я отрицательно покачалъ головою, но она не унималась и количествомъ показываемыхъ пальцевъ поперемѣнно предлагала девять, восемь, семь и т. д. лѣтъ супружества. Когда, благодаря моему отказу, она, наконецъ, подняла послѣдній палецъ—мизинецъ и вперила въ меня свои взоры, я тотчасъ-же изъявилъ согласіе...“ *).

Приглашенная къ церемоніи „чистая“старушка незамѣтно для домочадцевъ больного беретъ какую нибудь его вещь, напр. платье и т. п., идетъ къ рѣчкѣ и, ставъ на берегу, причитываетъ: „матерь воды, госпожа, если больной связанъ тобою, то развяжи“; при этомъ взятою отъ больного вещью она троекратно касается воды, зачерпываетъ ея нѣсколько капель въ ольховые листья, которые бережно приноситъ домой и прикрѣпляетъ надъ очагомъ къ потолку дома, будучи увѣрена, что лихорадка больного также испарится, какъ вода въ листьяхъ; затѣмъ старушка бѣжитъ вонъ изъ дому, съ словами: „пусть точно также побѣжитъ и твоя болѣзнь“.

Если больной послѣ этого почувствуетъ облегченіе, то приглашаютъ молельщицу, приготовляютъ курицу и пѣтуха, начиненный прѣсный хлѣбъ, отливаютъ три свѣчи и распредѣляютъ такъ: курицу и одну свѣчу назначаютъ „матери воды“, пѣтуха и другую свѣчу—мужу ея, а третью свѣчу—ихъ служанкѣ, которая называется Абзаһав-Абзачав (благодѣтельница). Больной отправляется съ женщиной-молельщицей къ водѣ и становится на колѣни. Молельщица-же беретъ свѣчу, зажигаетъ и ставитъ у воды, обращаясь съ мольбой объ облегченіи больного сначала къ „матери воды“—дздзлан дзаһвваж хипһсһа гваша („матерь воды“, „госпожа воды“, Хипһсһа Гваша); потомъ зажигаетъ другую и также ставитъ, прося о томъ-же „господина супруга“ матери воды; наконецъ, ставитъ третью зажженную свѣчу, проситъ ихъ служанку быть посредницей и ходатаемъ за больного предъ „господами“ и, обводя рукой по спинѣ больного, даетъ ему „азати“ (свободу) отъ болѣзни.

Такая-же церемонія совершается надъ молодой невѣсткой, когда ее впервые „выводятъ на воду“ (т. е. ведутъ по-воду), и надъ роженицей, чтобы она имѣла обильное молоко. При этомъ, если описанной церемоніи нельзя совершить сполна, то на долю „матери воды“ бросаютъ въ воду, при молитвѣ, яйцо.

Изъ опасенія осквернить воду, абхазецъ боится даже купаться въ проточной водѣ; если онъ выкупается, то, по выходѣ

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*) Этнограф. письма изъ Абхазіи; Конст. Мачаваріани, „Дроэба“, за 1884—1885 гг.

изъ воды, беретъ три камешка и говоритъ: „сегодня я согрѣшилъ предъ тобою—зашелъ въ воду и выкупался, но ты прости меня", при чемъ обводитъ камешками вокругъ головы и затѣмъ ихъ бросаетъ въ воду.

3.

Церемонія въ честь радуги.

Церемонія въ честь радуги, необязательная для всѣхъ, совершается, большею частью, надъ тѣми больными, причиной болѣзни которыхъ, по указанію гадальщицы, является радуга. Долговременная желтизна лица, разслабленіе организма, неустойчивость въ характерѣ—все это абхазецъ приписываетъ тому, что больной зашелъ въ воду въ тотъ самый моментъ, когда изъ нея пила радуга.

Намѣтивъ жертвоприношеніе и пообѣщавъ моленіе, „чистыя" старушки выводятъ больного къ рѣчкѣ и приносятъ съ собою двухъ жареныхъ каплуновъ, два начиненные прѣсные хлѣба въ формѣ языка и другую провизію, какъ при совершеніи церемоніи въ честь воды. По обоимъ берегамъ рѣчки раскладываютъ чистыя вещи: платье, серебро и пр. и перебрасываютъ съ одного берега на другой нитяный мостикъ. Приготовивъ все это, молельщица, съ заранѣе сдѣланною куклою въ рукахъ, обходитъ вокругъ стоящаго на колѣняхъ больного, покрытаго кускомъ миткаля, и молитъ о немъ радугу именемъ Эліапһші; затѣмъ беретъ свѣчку и обращается съ такою-же молитвой къ „госпожѣ матери воды" и „господину мужу ея"; помолившись надъ провизіею, бросаетъ въ воду кусочки отъ каждаго кушанья; куклу-же усаживаетъ въ тыкву и, украсивъ эту послѣднюю зажженными свѣчами, пускаетъ внизъ по теченію рѣчки и приговариваетъ: „вмѣсто больного, потѣшься надъ этимъ". Наконецъ, молельщица-старушка проводитъ рукою по спинѣ больного, приподымаетъ его и, давъ ему свободу („азати") отъ болѣзни, отпускаетъ домой, наказавъ ему при возвращеніи не оглядываться назадъ; принесенная пища тутъ-же съѣдается участницами церемоніи, остатки отъ стола бросаются въ воду, а посуда на-чисто вымывается.

Вообще, этотъ молитвенный обрядъ считается въ Абхазіи самымъ священнымъ и имя радуги—Ацаqва произносится съ великимъ благоговѣніемъ. По увѣренію абхазцевъ, послѣдствіемъ церемоніи въ честь радуги бываетъ дождь.

4.

Молитвенная церемонія въ честь вѣтра (пhшариhа).

Приготовляется большой хлѣбъ съ сыромъ, кладется на плетенку и выносится поодаль отъ дома. Тутъ молятъ „госпожу вѣтеръ“ (божество женскаго пола), чтобы она повѣяла на нихъ добромъ, унесла подальше зло, избавила отъ всякихъ напастей и пр. Затѣмъ, вырѣзавъ серединную часть хлѣба, несутъ ее въ лѣсъ и вѣшаютъ на вершинѣ дуба; на другой день этой жертвой лакомится тотъ, кто первый подойдетъ къ дубу.

5.

Молитва въ честь дерева.

Въ день Успенія Богородицы пекутъ витушки по числу душъ мужескаго пола въ семьѣ; затѣмъ хозяинъ дома, съ домочадцами, подходитъ къ какому нибудь молодому дереву и, наступивъ на него ногою, молится: „Дерево, подаждь мнѣ твою благодать и счастье... Съ вершины дерева да благополучно снизойдти мнѣ. Свѣжая вѣточка, когда я наступлю на нее ногою, да окрѣпнетъ, а окрѣпшая да сдѣлается свѣжею (мягкою)“ и пр.

6.

Молитва въ честь Адиqа или (что̀ тоже) „внѣшнихъ“

Причиною заболѣванія человѣка и его скота бываютъ часто души усопшихъ („внѣшнія“: онѣ нерѣдко на него гнѣваются и внѣшними знаками этого гнѣва являются напускаемыя на прогнѣвившихъ—частая зѣвота, сонливость и общее изнеможеніе. Если больной не удовлетворитъ гнѣвающуюся „внѣшнюю“ жертвою и молитвою, то его ожидаетъ неминуемая смерть. Въ одинъ изъ субботнихъ дней приготовляютъ кушанье изъ молодого барашка, куръ, кислаго молока и мяса коровы, если гнѣвается душа женщины, и всю эту провизію устанавливаютъ подъ навѣсомъ на скатерти, а по обѣ стороны ея кладутъ платье и драгоцѣнныя вещи. Больного или больную ставятъ посреди круга и мужчина или женщина, соотвѣтственно полу больного, молится и проситъ живыхъ и мертвыхъ (Анги-пһсигис) помиловать больного, даровать ему здоровье и принять приготовленную въ честь ихъ пищу. Послѣ этого молящійся за больного обводитъ рукой по его спинѣ и даетъ ему свободу отъ болѣзни („азати“). Въ томъ случаѣ, когда причиною болѣзни является душа князя или, вообще, высокопоставленнаго лица, привязываютъ тутъ-же лошадь, которую, при заключительныхъ словахъ молитвы: „это (лошадь) твоей душѣ“, отвязываютъ и пускаютъ въ поле. Такая лошадь, по мнѣнію абхазца, вскорѣ разбухаетъ и издыхаетъ.

7.

Молитвенная церемонія въ честь Ажаһара.

Именемъ Ажаһара абхазцы называютъ покровителя или генія дома и домашняго очага, въ честь котораго совершается эта церемонія надъ молодыми супругами въ томъ періодѣ супружества, когда они еще не появлялись вмѣстѣ предъ старшими и когда молодая въ первый разъ вводится въ главный домъ мужа, или когда она приглашается въ свой отчій домъ. Одинъ изъ старѣйшихъ членовъ въ домѣ втыкаетъ на вертелъ сердце и печень жертвеннагѣ животнаго и проситъ Ажаһара быть покровителемъ молодыхъ дома и всюду внѣ его.

8.

Алишкантра.

Алишкантра—„госпожа“ собакъ. По мнѣнію абхазца, кто имѣетъ хорошихъ собакъ, тотъ будетъ счастливъ и въ пріумноженіи скота: съ удачей на собакъ соединяется представленіе о счастьи на домашнихъ животныхъ. Поэтому-то, раньше моленій другимъ богамъ-покровителямъ домашнихъ животныхъ и дикихъ звѣрей, абхазцы молятся Алишкантрѣ, чтобы она дала имъ счастье на хорошихъ собакъ и возможность выростить и размножить ихъ.

9.

Молитва въ честь Жабрана.

Жабранъ—покровитель животныхъ. Молитвенную церемонію въ честь его совершаетъ каждый абхазецъ, имѣющій скотъ, въ сырную субботу. Для этого приготовляютъ сулугуни (большой сыръ), называемый „святымъ сыромъ"; на очагъ кладутъ тѣсто для хлѣба, въ которое мужчина втыкаетъ сердцевину сулугуни и молится: „Предпочти меня всѣмъ, произносящимъ твое имя; умножь мою скотину, увеличь ее настолько, чтобы въ будущемъ я могъ молиться тебѣ и приносить сыръ величиной въ этотъ хлѣбъ и чтобы дворъ мой не вмѣщалъ всей моей скотины. Сохрани мой скотъ отъ всякаго худа и напасти, какъ дома, такъ и внѣ его; подай, чтобы мой скотъ, кромѣ стараго волоса и кала, не терялъ ничего; подай, чтобы стадо мое было такъ велико, чтобъ позади идущая скотина не могла догнать бѣгущей впереди; чтобы телята играли, подобно медвѣжатамъ, и блистали, подобно жеребятамъ. Вотъ о чемъ я прошу тебя". Затѣмъ молящій втыкаетъ въ хлѣбное тѣсто три палочки грецкаго орѣшника и, ударяя объ потолокъ, восклицаетъ: „вооц! чiпһш!" (кликъ, коимъ зовутъ скотину). Такая-же церемонія совершается въ четвергъ сырной недѣли въ честь покровителя козъ и называется Джабранъ.

10.

Моленіе въ честь Аiтһар'а.

Аiтһар есть покровитель домашняго скота и хуторнаго хозяйства. Моленія ему совершаются въ одну изъ субботъ, но только не въ постные дни, такъ какъ жертвоприношенія должны состоять изъ продуктовъ молока, а у богатыхъ—изъ телка, вспоеннаго молокомъ. Самымъ употребительнымъ при этомъ кушаньемъ бываетъ—жидкая каша на молокѣ недавно отелившейся коровы. Кругомъ котла или чашки, наполненной кашею, становятся пастухи, и старшій изъ нихъ по возрасту, взявъ восковую свѣчу, читаетъ молитву: „Аiтһар, даруй мнѣ превосходство предъ всѣми, произносящими твое имя", и затѣмъ проситъ его о размноженіи стадъ и о защитѣ ихъ отъ хищныхъ звѣрей. По окончаніи молитвы, пастухъ бросаетъ три ложки каши на поставленную вблизи жаровню съ угольями, а остальное съѣдаютъ всѣ присутствующіе. Если моленіе Аітћар'у совершается жителями всего или части селенія, то приносится въ жертву теленокъ, котораго зарѣзываетъ самый почетный старикъ, произнося предварительно молитву. Когда мясо теленка бываетъ сварено или сжарено, то тотъ-же старикъ вторично произноситъ молитву, отрѣзывая небольшіе куски отъ всѣхъ частей животнаго, приноситъ въ жертву Аітћар'у, бросая ихъ на раскаленные уголья.

11.

Ажвепћшаа (Абн-інцваху).

Ажвепћшаа—богъ лѣсовъ и дикихъ звѣрей. Охотники приносятъ ему жертву предъ отправленіемъ на охоту, что̀ бываетъ обыкновенно въ половинѣ или въ концѣ декабря. Для принесенія жертвы, покупаютъ въ складчину козла или барана. Когда его сжарятъ, то старшій по возрасту охотникъ проситъ **Ажвепћшаа** послать успѣхъ ихъ предпріятію и, въ заключеніе молитвы, бросаетъ на уголья небольшіе куски жареннаго мяса и кусочекъ ладана. Каждый изъ остальныхъ охотниковъ, по очереди, повторяетъ молитву, прибавляя къ ней свои собственныя пожеланія и указывая, какое именно животное онъ хотѣлъ-бы убить, и при этомъ бросаетъ кусочки ладана на уголья.

12.

Джаджа и Анапћанга.

Джаджа—покровительница посѣвовъ. Моленія ей совершаются два раза въ годъ: въ мартѣ, съ началомъ весны, и въ ноябрѣ, послѣ уборки кукурузы. Моленіе Джаджѣ не сопровождается никакимъ особеннымъ торжествомъ и происходитъ тихо, въ каждомъ семействѣ отдѣльно. Богатые владѣльцы приглашаютъ иногда на эту молитву бывшихъ своихъ подвластныхъ, и именно тѣхъ изъ нихъ, которые принимали участіе въ посѣвѣ и уборкѣ ихъ хлѣба. Въ день, назначенный для моленія, приготовляются кушанья, исключительно изъ хлѣба и плодовъ, воздѣлываемыхъ хозяиномъ. Когда кушанья поставлены на столъ, старшій въ семействѣ обращается съ молитвой къ Джаджѣ и благодаритъ за хорошій урожай или проситъ послать всего въ изобиліи. При весеннемъ моленіи Джаджѣ всѣ кушанья приготовляются постныя.

У Анапһанги, богини посѣвовъ, абхазецъ проситъ: „Гдѣ только я проведу борозду и ударю желѣзомъ и орудіемъ, да дастся мнѣ всюду изобиліе зерна; подай счастіе сѣятелю и потребителю". Въ честь Анапһанги молятся и во время жатвы, когда первый разъ привозятъ домой снопы; въ Успенскій-же постъ изъ колосьевъ дѣлаютъ крестъ, прикрѣпляютъ къ свѣчкѣ зерна кукурузы и лобіи для отвращенія вреда, наносимаго злыми духами, хотя-бы тою-же, напр., Джаджей. Эта Джаджа—безобразная, низенькая, толстая богиня; выйдя на ниву, она возглашаетъ: „нацвіс, нацвіс" (мизинецъ! мизинецъ!), т. е. пожеланіе, чтобы кукуруза на нивѣ достигла роста только въ мизинецъ; но если погнаться за Джаджей, съ словами: „ракі дзакі, ракі дзакі" (локоть-пядень, локоть-пядень), то она оставитъ ниву, и пожеланіе ея не исполнится.

Предъ молотьбой гоми великимъ богинямъ молятся, чтобы онѣ сохранили во здравіи все семейство—и чтобы впредь всѣ домочадцы, и во главѣ ихъ сама хозяйка, собирались у колотушки для молотьбы гоми (сацехвэли).

13.

Моленіе о пчелахъ.

Пекутъ круглый хлѣбъ съ сыромъ, приносятъ его на пасѣку и молятся Анапагундѣ о сохраненіи пчелъ; по возвращеніи-же домой, разламываютъ хлѣбъ и ѣдятъ такъ, чтобы не видѣть другъ друга, для чего одни становятся лицомъ къ однимъ дверямъ, а другіе—къ другимъ.

14.

Моленіе солнцу и лунѣ.

Къ солнцу абхазецъ обращается съ мольбой: „Солнышко, не лиши насъ твоей благодати, тепла и свѣта, благополучія и преуспѣянія во всемъ; даруй дѣвицамъ красоту, выразительность, изящество, чтобы онѣ, подобно тебѣ, свѣтили, блистали и согрѣвали людей". Въ молитвенномъ-же обращеніи къ лунѣ выражаютъ пожеланіе, чтобы мальчики уподоблялись ея блеску.

15.

Моленіе Кһпһатһ и Кһвнашʼу.

Моленіе это совершаютъ въ субботу на Ѳоминой недѣлѣ, съ приношеніемъ въ жертву сыра, хлѣба, вина, свѣчей и пр. Идея его—испрошеніе здоровья и благоденствія семьѣ. Въ одну изъ слѣдующихъ субботъ молятся о томъ-же Кһвнашʼу. Кһпһатһ и Мджатһ суть названія мужчинъ въ Абхазіи.

16.

„Ананаһа".

Анан значитъ мать. Старшая въ домѣ женщина кладетъ на хлѣбъ деньги (Анан л пһара—денежка Ананы) и идетъ съ нимъ въ огородъ, гдѣ накладываетъ на хлѣбъ по три огуречныхъ листика и столько-же листиковъ себѣ на голову; затѣмъ, прикрѣпляетъ къ огуречному стеблю зажженую свѣчу и, взявъ въ руки ладанъ, молится: „Матери творительницы, не дайте мнѣ испытать горе по сыновьямъ, не ввергните меня въ печаль по нимъ, но покажите мнѣ ихъ благоденствіе". Такая-же молитва совершается въ честь Ашацанһа—бога-творителя или родителя. Въ жертву ему приносятъ корову и деньги. Въ великомъ посту сельскія дѣвушки молились также „матери водъ", чтобы она даровала имъ густые и длинные волосы.

17.

Моленіе за ухо.

Абхазецъ говоритъ: „аһса р лмһа і клоу", чтò значитъ: „привѣшенный къ ушамъ дѣвицъ". Ломота въ колѣняхъ, неровность характера, общая слабость организма человѣка и пр.—все это послѣдствія „тяжелой причины". Для отвращенія болѣзни, подвѣшиваютъ къ уху, на подобіе сережки, пуговку. Чистая и безгрѣшная женщина ведетъ больного къ орѣховому кусту и ставитъ его на колѣни, а кругомъ него втыкаетъ въ землю семь орѣховыхъ палочекъ и къ каждой изъ нихъ прикрѣпляетъ по зажженой свѣчѣ и молится за больного ħанiпħа — генію, ходящему по скаламъ.

18.

Моленіе въ честь верховнаго существа.

Это верховное существо признается причиною многоразличныхъ болѣзней человѣка. Когда у тяжко больного сильно колеблется температура тѣла и его бросаетъ тò въ жаръ, тò въ холодъ; когда онъ теряетъ сознаніе или падаетъ въ обморокъ, на мгновеніе приходитъ въ себя и затѣмъ вновь начинаетъ метаться, бредить, пѣть пѣсни, бормотать молитвы и проч.,—то всѣ такія тяжкія болѣзненныя явленія у абхазцевъ считаются несомнѣнными признаками воздѣйствія на больного верховной силы, верховныхъ божествъ (Анца р мзз)—„божественная есть причина“. Абхазцы увѣрены, что эта „божественная причина“ вселилась въ больного, и потому говорятъ: Анца дртħоуп, т. е. „богъ пришелъ гостить“. Когда гадальщица подтвердитъ, что болѣзнь дѣйствительно произошла отъ того, что въ больного „вселился богъ“, —то въ домѣ больного съ этого времени всѣ должны принять на себя веселый видъ и радоваться, а не печалиться, ибо „гдѣ поселился богъ, тамъ можетъ быть одно только веселье“. Поэтому, въ домѣ такого больного собирается сельская молодежь, всѣ начинаютъ пѣть и плясать, и если только самъ больной въ силахъ, то и его заставляютъ принимать участіе въ пляскахъ и пѣніи.

Молитвенное жертвоприношеніе совершается по близости дома, у опушки лѣса. Въ жертву приносятъ козла или козленка, барана или ягненка, также хлѣбы и пр. Все это приносится къ назначенному мѣсту, куда приводятъ и больного. Женщины при этомъ отсутствуютъ, такъ какъ онѣ не могутъ приближаться къ этому священному мѣсту. Затѣмъ старецъ, держа свѣчу, возглашаетъ: „Великій богъ, сегодняшній богомолецъ, какъ надлежитъ и какъ указано гадальщицей, предсталъ предъ тобою и принесъ хлѣбы, привелъ жертвенныхъ животныхъ... Помилуй его, смилуйся надъ нимъ; если онъ согрѣшилъ предъ тобою, прости его; прошу тебя отстать отъ него съ сегодняшняго дня, оставить и освободить его, подобно развязанному узлу“. Произнеся эти слова, старецъ обводитъ больного свѣчею, зажигаетъ ее и ставитъ тутъ-же; затѣмъ беретъ другую свѣчу и молится Микэлю-Габріэл. По совершеніи этой церемоніи, больной самъ одинъ возвращается домой, а другіе садятся тутъ-же обѣдать.

Впрочемъ, одной такой церемоніи считается недостаточно для проводовъ столь высокаго гостя, какъ богъ. Поэтому, абхазецъ долженъ ежегодно повторять эту церемонію. Въ честь того-же верховнаго существа устанавливается праздникъ въ одинъ изъ дней недѣли: день этотъ почитается такимъ священнымъ, что втеченіи его даже домъ остается не выметеннымъ и пр.

19.

Апһі.

Апһі *) есть богъ и повелитель грома, молніи и всѣхъ вообще атмосферическихъ явленій. Въ честь этого бога совершаются въ Абхазіи самыя торжественныя моленія.

Въ день, назначенный для молитвы,—а это бываетъ обыкновенно при угонѣ стадъ на лѣтнее время въ горы и при возвращеніи ихъ оттуда осенью,—пастухи селенія раздѣляются на нѣсколько группъ, и каждая изъ нихъ выбираетъ какое нибудь живописное мѣсто въ лѣсу, вблизи ручья, или рѣки. По числу участниковъ закалывается нѣсколько барановъ, и старшій изъ пастуховъ, уходящихъ въ горы, обращается къ Апһі, моля его сохранить, какъ ихъ самихъ, такъ и стада ихъ отъ громовыхъ ударовъ. Женщины и дѣти не смѣютъ присутствовать при моленіи Апһі, а первыя не должны даже и произносить его имени. Говоря объ Апһі, абхазцы обыкновенно выражаются: хахікал (который на верху, или верховный).

Во время продолжительной засухи, въ честь Апһі совершается моленіе съ жертвоприношеніемъ. Выбирается изъ стада лучшій быкъ и назначается день для жертвоприношенія. Жители приносятъ гоми, хлѣбъ, свѣжій сыръ и кувшинъ вина. Самый почетный старикъ берется за веревку, надѣтую на рога быка, и, снявъ шапку, читаетъ слѣдующую молитву: „О Апһі, повелитель грома, молніи и дождя! сжалься надъ бѣднымъ своимъ народомъ. Наши посѣвы высохли, трава выгорѣла, скотъ издыхаетъ безъ корма, и потому

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*) См. Сборн. свѣдѣн. о кавк. горцахъ, вып. V, Тифл. 1871 г., стр. 15—16 ст. Религіозныя вѣрованія абхазцевъ, А-а,—гдѣ божество это, впрочемъ, названо Афы.

намъ угрожаетъ голодная смерть. Повели скатиться дождевымъ тучамъ, повели загремѣть грому, засверкать молніи и пошли дождь для спасенія погибающаго народа". По произнесеніи присутствующими аминь, жертва закалывается и мясо ея варятъ. Когда всѣ яства, изъ принесенныхъ продуктовъ, приготовлены и разложены на плетенки, старикъ, читавшій молитву, повторяетъ ее еще разъ, и затѣмъ начинается пиръ, при пѣніи хвалебнаго гимна въ честь Апhi. Гимнъ этотъ называется Анчва рысшва и поется въ честь Апhi не только на пирахъ, но и во время грозы. Въ первомъ случаѣ, его поютъ въ благодарность за дары, которыми пользуются, а во второмъ—въ надеждѣ умолить Апhi послать хорошую погоду. На пирахъ одинъ изъ стариковъ обращается обыкновенно къ присутствующимъ съ рѣчью, въ которой напоминаетъ, что все, чѣмъ они пользуются въ настоящую минуту, есть благодать Апhi, и предлагаетъ возблагодарить его. Тогда одинъ изъ присутствующихъ начинаетъ прославлять бога: „Анчва дукhва злыпhхӓ ххаура! о, ты, который съ неба нисходишь съ молніей и возносишься на небо съ громомъ; которому извѣстно число звѣздъ на небѣ и песку на днѣ морскомъ..." и т. д. и оканчиваетъ стихъ словами: ахдау. Всѣ присутствующіе, раздѣленные на двѣ группы, поочередно повторяютъ каждый стихъ гимна, и непремѣнно по три раза.

Пораженіе молніей домашней скотины вызываетъ непремѣнно моленіе Апhi; въ противномъ случаѣ, если онъ не будетъ умилостивленъ жертвою, надо ожидать повторенія его посѣщенія. Хозяинъ убитой скотины приглашаетъ жителей селенія, безъ различія возраста и пола. На мѣстѣ, гдѣ убита скотина, устраивается вышка, сажени въ полторы высотой, такъ, чтобы хищныя животныя не могли на нее взобраться. Всѣ присутствующіе окружаютъ убитое животное, берутъ другъ друга за руки и, приплясывая, поютъ: одна половина—Воетла, другая отвѣчаетъ ей—Чаупӓр, и, при пляскѣ и пѣніи, подымаютъ животное на вышку, оставляя его тамъ на жертву хищнымъ птицамъ. Затѣмъ, хозяинъ пораженной молніей скотины приноситъ въ жертву Апhi быка, и, при этомъ, благодаря его за настоящее, проситъ, тѣмъ неменѣе, избавить его отъ дальнѣйшихъ посѣщеній. Изъ мяса жертвы приготовляются кушанья, приносятся хлѣбъ, сыръ, вино, и присутствующіе цѣлый день пируютъ на счетъ пострадавшаго. День, когда была убита молніей скотина, бываетъ такъ памятенъ въ родѣ того, кого такимъ образомъ посѣтилъ Апhi, что ни самъ глава семьи, ни его дѣти въ годовщину этого событія никому и ничего не дадутъ, говоря, что ожидаютъ въ этотъ день посѣщенія Апһі.

Надъ человѣкомъ, пораженнымъ молніей, совершается тотъже самый обрядъ. Во время пляски вокругъ трупа никто изъ родственниковъ убитаго не смѣетъ плакать,—въ противномъ случаѣ, всѣ присутствующіе будутъ поражены громовымъ ударомъ.

„Недавно, пишетъ г. Гіоргидзе въ 1888 году въ газ. „Иверія“, съ плачемъ и рыданіемъ хоронили одного человѣка. Въ это время громовой ударъ сразилъ двухъ быковъ, пасшихся тутъ-же. Плачъ и рыданіе моментально замѣнились пляской и пѣніемъ „Атларчоупһ“. Убитыхъ быковъ подняли и установили на деревѣ, а затѣмъ, при гробовомъ молчаніи, предали землѣ покойника“.

Трупъ человѣка, сраженнаго громовымъ ударомъ, кладутъ въ гробъ, ставятъ на вышку и оставляютъ его тамъ до тѣхъ поръ, пока отъ него не останутся однѣ кости; тогда гробъ снимаютъ и хоронятъ, совершивъ надъ нимъ обыкновенный погребальный обрядъ, справивъ установленныя обычаемъ поминки.

Вѣроятно, такой обрядъ ставленія или подвѣшиванья труповъ людей, сраженныхъ Апһі, подалъ поводъ древнимъ греко-римскимъ писателямъ и географу Вахуштію свидѣтельствовать, что въ Абхазіи и Колхидѣ умершихъ мужчинъ не хоронили, но вѣшали ихъ трупы на деревьяхъ. Вотъ слова Вахуштія: „Христіане по религіи, абхазцы не знаютъ своей вѣры и потому считаются идолопоклонниками. И, дѣйствительно, вмѣсто того, чтобы хоронить своихъ покойниковъ, они одѣваютъ ихъ въ лучшее платье и оружіе, запираютъ въ ящики и ставятъ на деревья“. Аполлоній Родосскій (250—200 л. до Р. Х.) пишетъ о Колхидѣ: „Тамъ росло много винограда и ивъ, на верхушкахъ которыхъ на цѣпяхъ повѣшены были трупы умершихъ. И теперь еще считается у Колховъ за преступленіе жечь трупы мужчинъ или даже зарывать ихъ въ землю и засыпать курганами; ихъ кладутъ въ необдѣланныя бычачьи кожи и далеко за городомъ вѣшаютъ на деревья; но и земля получаетъ свое, какъ и воздухъ, ибо ей предаются трупы женщинъ; таковъ ужъ у нихъ законъ“ *). Тоже самое свидѣтельствуется въ Variae Historiae: „Колхи кладутъ мертвыхъ въ кожи, зашиваютъ ихъ и вѣшаютъ на деревья“ **). Нимфодоръ Сиракузскій (жилъ около половины IV вѣка до Р. Хр.) говоритъ, что „у Колховъ не принято ни сжигать, ни хоронить трупы мужчинъ. Трупы эти они кладутъ въ свѣжія кожи животныхъ и вѣшаютъ на деревьяхъ. Трупы-же женщинъ они предаютъ землѣ... Они почитаютъ больше всего небо и землю“ *).

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*) Греко-Римскіе писатели о Кавказѣ, Гана, стр. 49.

**) Тамъ-же, стр. 162.

20.

Шаша.

Подъ именемъ Шаша абхазцы разумѣютъ изобрѣтателя кузнечнаго дѣла. Объ немъ говорятъ: „Шаша хэ аһ-доу“, что, въ переводѣ, значитъ: „Шаша, великій господинъ ремеслъ“. Шаша или Шаш былъ первымъ кузнецомъ. Раскаленное желѣзо онъ бралъ не щипцами, а руками, и ковалъ не на наковальнѣ, а на своихъ колѣнахъ. Онъ—изобрѣтатель не одного только кузнечнаго дѣла, но и изобрѣтатель-покровитель 363 другихъ ремеслъ. Онъ чрезвычайно могущественъ и горячъ. Сама кузница, со всѣми ея принадлежностями, есть образъ Шаша **).

Моленія ему совершаются наканунѣ новаго года, и самый полный обрядъ производится кузнецами и слесарями.

Наканунѣ новаго года, хозяинъ рѣжетъ теленка или барана, а жена его—по одному пѣтуху на каждаго члена семейства и приготовляетъ пирогъ изъ пшеничной муки съ свѣжимъ сыромъ. Печенку и сердце всѣхъ зарѣзанныхъ животныхъ жарятъ отдѣльно, причемъ, вмѣсто вертела, употребляютъ палочку свѣжаго орѣшника. Когда кушанья готовы и принесены въ кузницу, то кузнецъ складываетъ на наковальнѣ всѣ свои инструменты, а вблизи ея ставитъ жаровню съ угольями, и все семейство его становится на колѣни вокругъ наковальни. Снявъ башлыкъ и поясъ (какъ доказательство, что обращается къ Шаша съ открытымъ сердцемъ и мыслями), кузнецъ зажигаетъ восковую свѣчу, бросаетъ ладанъ на уголья жаровни и обращается къ Шаша съ молитвой: чтобы онъ ниспослалъ ему и семьѣ здравіе и долголѣтіе и чтобы орудія, дѣлаемыя изъ желѣза, послужили ему въ пользу, а не во вредъ. По окончаніи молитвы, когда присутствующіе произнесутъ „аминь“, хозяинъ отрѣзываетъ кусочки пирога и внутренностей, сжаренныхъ на орѣховомъ вертелѣ, и бросаетъ ихъ на жаровню, приговаривая: „До тѣхъ поръ, пока я не буду въ состояніи этими кусочками накормить всѣхъ Шервашидзе и Анчабадзе, пусть никто не болѣетъ въ моемъ семействѣ. Молю тебя объ этомъ, Шаша, принося тебѣ настоящую жертву". Кузнецъ отрѣзываетъ затѣмъ такіе-же кусочки отъ прочихъ жертвъ и раздаетъ ихъ всѣмъ членамъ семейства, которые съѣдаютъ ихъ и запиваютъ тремя глотками вина. Вино для этой трапезы хозяинъ назначаетъ тотчасъ послѣ уборки винограда и хранитъ его въ отдѣльномъ кувшинѣ, называемомъ шёшер гапһши, зарытомъ въ самой кузницѣ; подъ страхомъ наказанія Шаша, къ нему не смѣетъ, ни въ какой крайности, прикасаться, раньше кануна новаго года, ни самъ хозяинъ, ни, тѣмъ болѣе, кто-либо изъ постороннихъ. По окончаніи моленія, приготовленныя яства переносятся въ домъ кузнеца, куда собираются сосѣди и пируютъ во славу Шаша до разсвѣта.

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*) Греко-Римскіе писатели о Кавказѣ, стр. 208.

**) Иверія, 1888 г., № 186.

Моленіе Шаша въ канунъ новаго года совершаютъ также и нѣкоторые князья, причемъ присутствующіе на нихъ люди, бывшіе когда-то въ зависимости отъ этихъ князей, приносятъ каждый по пѣтуху. Шаша—одно изъ божествъ, чаще другихъ призываемое абхазцами.

По понятію абхазцевъ, божество, имя котораго было призвано ложно, немедленно наказываетъ провинившагося тѣми средствами или орудіями, которыя входятъ въ кругъ его спеціальности. Такъ, напр., призвавшій ложно имя Апһі, распоряжающагося грозою, не можетъ быть наказанъ посредствомъ огнестрѣльнаго или холоднаго оружія, составляющихъ спеціальность Шаша, и т. д.

Присяга Шаша бываетъ двухъ родовъ: въ кузницѣ и подъ открытымъ небомъ. Въ первомъ случаѣ, кузнецъ, положивъ молотъ на наковальню и сложивъ руки на груди, становится по одну ея сторону, присягающій—по другую сторону наковальни, противъ кузнеца, а тотъ, по дѣлу котораго приносится присяга, становится въ сторонѣ. Присягающій, взявъ въ руки молотъ, говоритъ: „Если я виноватъ въ томъ, въ чемъ меня обвиняютъ, то пусть Шаша разобьетъ мою голову на наковальнѣ"; при этихъ словахъ онъ ударяетъ три раза молотомъ по наковальнѣ,—присяга считается совершонной. Во второмъ случаѣ, вбиваютъ въ землю двѣ палки, одну противъ другой, на нихъ вѣшаютъ заряженныя ружья, дуломъ обращенныя въ промежутокъ, занимаемый присягающимъ; въ сторонѣ становятся присутствующіе. Присягающій произноситъ: „Если я сказалъ ложь,—пусть Шаша пронзитъ мою голову пулями изъ этихъ ружей'', и три раза проходитъ чрезъ промежутокъ между ружьями.

Принесшій ложную присягу, при первомъ-же недугѣ, сопряженномъ съ головными болями, проситъ родственниковъ узнать у ворожеи причину его болѣзни. Ворожея, отъ самого-же кузнеца обыкновенно заранѣе знающая обо всѣхъ принимавшихъ присягу, раскинувъ зерна лобіи или взглянувъ на звѣзды, указываетъ причину болѣзни—ложную присягу, принесенную Шаша тогда-то, по такому-то дѣлу и въ такой-то кузницѣ. Одинъ изъ родственниковъ заболѣвшаго отправляется къ тому, по чьему дѣлу была принята ложная присяга, и подарками склоняетъ его вымолить у Шаша прощеніе больному, обѣщая, конечно, что тотъ, по выздоровленіи, удовлетворитъ его сполна. Затѣмъ оба они отправляются въ кузницу, гдѣ была принесена присяга, и обвинявшій больного, снявъ съ себя поясъ, какъ свидѣтельство, что его обращеніе къ Шаша будетъ искреннимъ, подходитъ къ наковальнѣ и произноситъ молитву, въ которой проситъ Шаша снять болѣзнь съ виновнаго, какъ залогъ того, что больной, когда выздоровѣетъ, самъ явится вымаливать себѣ прощеніе у Шаша; затѣмъ, оставивъ въ кузницѣ кусочекъ желѣза, онъ идетъ къ больному, чтобы успокоить его. Если больной выздоровѣетъ, то, удовлетворивъ обиженнаго имъ, онъ приходитъ, вмѣстѣ съ нимъ, въ кузницу и, положивъ на наковальню мелкую серебряную монету (неменѣе двухъ рублей), благодаритъ Шаша за свое выздоровленіе; принесенные-же имъ баранъ, хлѣбъ и вино передаются кузнецу, отъ котораго, послѣ молитвы, онъ получаетъ кусочки печени и сердца барана и отсылаетъ ихъ въ семью, какъ знакъ полученнаго отъ Шаша прощенія, а самъ, вмѣстѣ съ кузнецомъ, обиженнымъ имъ лицомъ и своими родственниками, съѣдаетъ въ домѣ кузнеца принесенныя яства.

21.

Моленіе Эйріг-аацных'у.

Эйріг-аацныхъ есть покровитель воровства, грабежей и разбоевъ. Это божество за рѣкою Бзыбью носитъ названіе Чугурухныхъ, и всѣ абхазцы, отправлявшіеся на воровство къ убыхамъ, шапсугамъ и другимъ горцамъ, приносили жертву Чугурухныху, алтарь котораго, если можно такъ выразиться, находился на отвѣсной скалѣ за укрѣпленіемъ Гагры. Моленіе этому богу совершается исключительно лишь занимающимися покровительствуемыми имъ „художествами“. Въ жертву ему приносятся четыре коническихъ хлѣба, надъ ними читается молитва, въ которой испрашивается благословеніе предпріятію и дается обѣщаніе, въ случаѣ успѣха, пожертвовать богу еще что нибудь. Хлѣбы берутся въ дорогу. Благодарственная-же жертва приносится изъ числа украденныхъ вещей, а если уворованы лошадь или рогатый скотъ, то жертва состоитъ изъ пряди волосъ отъ украденнаго животнаго, и все это вѣшается на деревья, въ окрестностяхъ того мѣста, гдѣ предполагается постоянное мѣстопребываніе Эйрігаацных'а.

22.

Аныбс-ныха-дудрюпҺш.

Сильнѣйшимъ изъ боговъ почитается Аныбс-ныха-дудрюпҺш, мѣстопребываніемъ котораго считается гора ДудрюпҺш. Осмѣливающіеся подняться на эту гору немедленно наказываются слѣпотою; поэтому, молитвы и жертвоприношенія божеству совершаются у подножія горы. Какъ божество, Аныбс-ныха не имѣетъ никакой исключительной, профессіональной области вѣдѣнія, но почитается выше и могущественнѣе всѣхъ другихъ божествъ. Порядокъ моленій и жертвоприношеній ему тотъ-же, какъ и Шаша, съ тою только разницею, что при принесеніи предъ нимъ присяги говорится: „Пусть Аныбс-ныха нашлетъ на меня слѣпоту и всякую болѣзнь...“ и т. д.

Мѣстопребываніе Аныбс-ныха находится подъ исключительнымъ надзоромъ многочисленной абхазской фамиліи Анхаё-Чичба. Правомъ этимъ Чичба пользуются уже нѣсколько поколѣній, и оно доставляетъ имъ большой доходъ, такъ какъ разрѣшеніе на принесеніе жертвы божеству покупается у нихъ подарками. Не доходя до вершины горы ДудрюпҺш, настоящаго мѣстопребыванія Аныбс-ныха, подъ дубомъ, лежитъ камень, въ который врѣзанъ образъ Божіей Матери; всѣ присягающіе обязаны класть на этотъ камень какую нибудь монету, или что-либо металлическое, и горе тому, кто искусится взять хоть одну изъ находящихся тутъ вещицъ!

23.

Канунъ Рождества и Новаго года.

Наканунѣ Рождества Христова, въ каждомъ семействѣ, по числу душъ, рѣжутъ куръ и приготовляютъ на каждаго члена по четыре квакварі, т. е. небольшихъ хлѣбца, начиненныхъ сыромъ. До первыхъ пѣтуховъ куры должны быть сжарены и квакварі спечены. Послѣ первыхъ пѣтуховъ, хозяинъ ставитъ на столъ чашки, кладетъ въ каждую изъ нихъ по курицѣ и по четыре квакварі и прилѣпляетъ къ чашкамъ по восковой свѣчѣ. Неподалеку отъ стола помѣщается жаровня съ угольями. Всѣ члены семейства становятся на колѣни вокругъ стола, каждый противъ своей чашки, и старшій въ семьѣ, снявъ шапку и бросивъ ладанъ на жаровню, проситъ Бога, чтобы онъ сохранилъ его и семейство его отъ разстройства желудка. По окончаніи молитвы, всѣ встаютъ, оборачиваются направо и кланяются на востокъ, затѣмъ ѣдятъ каждый свою долю, причемъ стараются окончить трапезу непремѣнно до разсвѣта.

Подъ Новый годъ, послѣ ужина, въ каждомъ семействѣ также совершается моленіе о ниспосланіи всѣхъ благъ. Для этого приготовляютъ четыреугольный пирогъ, начиненный сыромъ, и кладутъ его на доску, къ которой прилѣпляютъ восковую свѣчу. Все семейство становится кругомъ на колѣни, и старшій въ родѣ, бросивъ ладанъ на уголья, произноситъ молитву; затѣмъ пирогъ съѣдаютъ, а остатки сжигаютъ на угольяхъ. Моленіе это называется Каліндa. Въ первый день Новаго года совершается моленіе Гуныхва (сердечная молитва). Для нея приготовляются, по числу членовъ семейства, пшеничные хлѣбцы, съ запеченнымъ въ нихъ яйцомъ. Глава семейства, поднося къ груди каждаго хлѣбецъ, обращается къ Богу съ молитвой, въ которой проситъ избавить ихъ отъ болѣзней сердца. Послѣ молитвы, каждый съѣдаетъ свой хлѣбецъ.

24.

Засуха.

Во время сильной лѣтней засухи собираются всѣ сельскія дѣвушки въ лучшихъ своихъ нарядахъ, неподалеку отъ рѣки. Раздѣлившись на три группы, онѣ приготовляютъ изъ вѣтокъ плотъ, настилаютъ его соломой и дѣлаютъ куклу, которую одѣваютъ женщиной. Когда всѣ эти приготовленія окончены, приводятъ осла, покрываютъ его бѣлою простынею, сажаютъ на него куклу, одна изъ дѣвушекъ беретъ за поводъ осла, двѣ другія поддерживаютъ куклу и направляются къ мѣсту, гдѣ устроенъ плотъ; остальныя-же дѣвушки идутъ по обѣимъ сторонамъ процессіи, распѣвая: „Дзіва дзіва диварі! Ква ква маиркиал ainhn-ах inha дід шівайт дзы хучія, дзы хучія", что значитъ въ переводѣ: „Воды, воды достать! Достать воды дождевой—маргаритку красную! Сынъ Владыки, мы жаждемъ немного воды, немного воды!". Придя къ рѣкѣ, снимаютъ съ осла куклу, сажаютъ ее на плотъ и, зажегши солому, пускаютъ плотъ по теченію воды; затѣмъ стараются загнать въ воду осла, для чего, конечно, употребляется немало усилій. Оселъ, наконецъ, ступаетъ въ рѣчку и, выбравшись на противоположный берегъ, начинаетъ кричать, что считается самымъ вѣрнымъ предзнаменованіемъ скораго дождя. Если-же оселъ при этомъ не закричитъ, то на другой или на третій день та-же церемонія повторяется вновь.

25.

Святые.

Независимо отъ общаго почитанія всѣхъ выше исчисленныхъ божествъ, жители селеній Лыхны, Лзаа и Илори состоятъ подъ покровительствомъ святыхъ, которымъ посвящены воздвигнутыя въ этихъ селеніяхъ церкви, или, лучше сказать, состоятъ подъ покровительствомъ самыхъ церквей. Въ Лыхныхъ каждое семейство признаетъ покровительство Анан-Лыхныхъ (Матерь Лыхненская), въ Лзаа—Анан-Лзаанных (Матерь Лзаанская, т. е. храмъ Пицундскій во имя Божіей Матери), въ Илори—Цыкида Гьерги (храмъ св. Георгія). Для привлеченія на себя ихъ покровительства необходимы жертвы, которыя и приносятся каждымъ семействомъ ежегодно, въ одно изъ воскресеній, вечеромъ.

Въ день, назначенный для жертвоприношенія, выбирается изъ стада лучшая годовалая телушка и вводится вечеромъ въ домъ, гдѣ постоянно живетъ семейство, [illegible] у храма [illegible]. Приготовляется ужинъ, состоящій изъ пареннаго или жаренаго барана, и все семейство моется и надѣваетъ чистое бѣлье. Глава семьи, взявъ въ одну руку восковую свѣчу, а въ другую веревку, привязанную за ше[illegible]ика, обращается къ храму съ молитвою о покровительствѣ себѣ и семьѣ, причемъ оговаривается, что храму посвящается телушка и весь приплодъ отъ нея мужескаго пола будетъ приноситься въ жертву храму, а вмѣсто телушекъ будутъ приноситься въ жертву бараны. Послѣ этой молитвы, телушкѣ надрѣзываютъ ухо, и съ этого времени она считается неприкосновенною и не можетъ быть употребляема въ пищу. Телушка, въ день ея посвященія храму, должна ночевать въ домѣ, вмѣстѣ съ семействомъ.

Если кто нибудь изъ жителей трехъ выше названныхъ селеній переходитъ на жительство въ другое мѣсто, то онъ и тамъ обязанъ ежегодно приносить жертву храму родного селенія. Изъ этого правила не исключаются и дѣвушки этихъ селеній, выходящія за-мужъ за жителей другихъ селеній; какъ онѣ сами, такъ и дѣти ихъ, все-таки, считаются состоящими подъ покровительствомъ Лыхнскаго, Пицундскаго или Илорскаго храмовъ и, потому, обязаны приносить имъ жертвы.

М. Джанашвили.

ДОБАВЛЕНІЕ.

Абхазскія поговорки и пословицы *).

Акамбаӥ ахул абоэн, аанда абобмэт	Буйволъ видѣлъ брюкву, забора не замѣтилъ.
Ацгу апhа аhнапh аквоіт	Дѣтенышъ кота поймаетъ мышку (т. е. по отцу пойдетъ).
Акут іалшоо акутагhі оуп	Курица можетъ только яйца нести.
Аж ашап аhс ашвам	Нога коровы не убьетъ теленка (т. е. корова не убьетъ своего теленка).
Ацгу ахвартhа эназтhамла, аш бааул аhоон	Котъ не доскочилъ до корзины съ сыромъ и сказалъ: „онъ гнилъ“ (соотвѣтствуетъ грузинской пословицѣ, въ которой, при такой-же неудачѣ, котъ вспоминаетъ, что „сегодня постный день“).
Тhакважк бу цутhак лгухэан, ла лгухэа аов ікмэт	Старуха печалилась о семи селеніяхъ, а о ней (самой) никто не печалился.
Аов бзіа дзніава аов іпhх діхаhвоіт	Кто встрѣтитъ хорошаго человѣка, тотъ человѣческую душу обрѣтетъ.
Ав іашва гвара ітhахм, і мала дкаhвоіт	Пьяному человѣку пинка не нужно: самъ повалится.

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*) Изъ газеты „Иверія“ за 1888 г., №№-ра: 196, 203, 206 и 208. Къ русскому переводу, по большей части дословному, въ необходимыхъ случаяхъ сдѣланы поясненія и ссылки на соотвѣтствующія пословицы въ другихъ языкахъ.

Ав-дздзэік р бжара ахупhа дбжапhсіт	Питомецъ сталъ жертвою двухъ кормилицъ (соотвѣтствуетъ русской: „у семи нянекъ дитя безъ глазу").
Ак зга ігз ідрван, вба зга ігз іздрамзт	Кто имѣетъ одинъ недостатокъ, сознаетъ (его), кто два—нѣтъ.
Адз ар ігухвзан, адз амаж ігухвзан	Одного озабочивалъ походъ, другого озабочивало довольствіе (къ походу).
Хусіка эгіічован, эгіірапован.	Хусикъ (что̀) мотыжилъ, (то и) топталъ.
Ач эзміаіз, аквадр дасвон	Не справившись съ лошадью, по сѣдлу билъ (т. е. на сѣдлѣ вымещалъ).
Ар іргаз іргэіт, іаанхав бакура ікаіцэіт	Что̀ угнало войско, то угнало, а остальное досталось Бакурѣ.
Агрва дзімрʕоо эналага, упhаʕа зіца qэупhа іарhован	Когда грабили мингрельца, говорили: ,,у тебя борода крива, потому и грабимъ''.
Апhhс бзіа л—хаʕа мвипhа іітhахам	Мужу хорошей женщины не надо провизіи (т. е. приносить, заботиться о провизіи).
Аов дандзша аhhабж іаhавом	Если человѣка ждетъ гибель, зова (крика) не услышитъ.
Анхав ідзра энааілаві ілаба кдхн дцооіт	Придется пропадать крестьянину, возьметъ палку (посохъ) да и поплетется.
Асс вбз хаав іаінзгі іацвіт, іаінмзгі	Сладкоязычный ягненокъ мать и не-мать высосалъ (соотвѣтствуетъ русской: ,,ласковый теленокъ двѣ матки сосетъ''.
Эгізхарамэт абга-худч алакhва ірпhэіт	Безвиннаго шакала собаки сожрали.
Аh-аhкважі энэімацгэха, аhтhапhhс ахгара ложіт	Какъ начались ссоры у господина и госпожи,—служанкѣ легче стало.
Ат абла эноу, ,,аджиш, аджиш'' аhовон.	Найдя глазъ, филинъ кричалъ: ,,бровей, бровей''.
Саб ічага смавар эга счари	Отцовской мотыгой и я-бы много смотыжилъ.

Ласс ірмгаз атhпhhа лані ларэі кэтла эісван	Долго засидѣвшаяся въ невѣстахъ съ матерью палкою дралась.
Австhаа ітhа рхи амца эцраіꙋоон	Дьяволъ, когда скосилъ свое сѣно, поджегъ его.
Алаба qіш ах укргі ваqішвоіт, аꙋхва экргі ваqішвоіт	Запачканной палки оба конца пачкаютъ.
Ач аꙋхва укр адз урнагооіт, ала ꙋхва укр адз утhанажвоіт	Лошадь, если возьмешься за ея хвостъ, чрезъ воду выведетъ, а схватишься за хвость собаки, она тебя сброситъ въ воду.
Ач пhср ад атhнхоіт, аов дпhср іажа ітhнхооіт	Лошадь околѣетъ,—поле останется, а человѣкъ умретъ,—слово останется.
Ашара зхлꙋз абліс іоуп, ахаꙋара зхлꙋз дпhэhамбаруп	Страхъ произошелъ отъ сатаны, а геройство отъ пророка.
Абга ішнарцооз: „васкэпh, васкэпh“ аhоон	За шакаломъ гнались, а онъ: „курдюкъ, курдюкъ“ кричалъ.
Аhкваж лапhхэ аhдчск бліт	Предъ госпожей поросенокъ сгорѣлъ.
Вага сасра думштhан	Дурака въ гости не посылай.
Акут ашга ашацхб іꙋнахіт	Курица своей лапой ножъ на себя вырыла.
Адз утhалаандза уч-хумтн	Пока въ воду не войдешь, платья не снимай.
Адз іагооз дччон	Водою уносимый смѣялся.
Ач этз іітhіван, ачанхіча іівамэт	Продавалъ хозяинъ (свою) лошадь, а конюхъ (ему) не позволялъ.
Х пhсргі, ажа пhсвам	Голова умретъ, слово не умретъ.
Ала хага ачаш эікhгугhвоіт	Сумасшедшая собака надѣется сырный хлѣбъ получить.
Лан улпhшн лпhhа дhа	Невѣсту выбирай по матери.
Аэша аша давзоуп, агула агу	Братъ подобенъ крови, сосѣдъ сердцу.
Апhсуа іла кhіра даhовон	Абхазецъ за посмотрѣнье подачки требовалъ.

Ахабж апћхэ ,,хабж" вов iзћоѳм	Раньше опаршивѣвшаго о „парши" (его) никто не скажетъ.
Ач зн iлапћсахооiт, зн iћапћсахооiт	Лошадь цѣнятъ тѝ въ собаку, тѝ въ свинью.
Аҩбра iзцмгћз iшћиҩа iтћiааiт	Кому претила чабера *), у того она въ носу выросла.
Адз эпћнуу апћан iдрвоiт	У воды живущій и бродъ знаетъ.
Ажа атартћа соур аћртћа iш соурз аћэiт	Говорилъ заяцъ: ,,пріютъ-бы имѣть, а кормъ я найду".
Абзiа ун адз iатћ, iдзвом	Твори добро, (такъ хоть) въ воду окуни, не пропадетъ.
Вапћхэ iкаћаво уiхмччан	Кто упадетъ предъ тобой, надъ тѣмъ не смѣйся.
Абнат арбагћi iаан авит арбагћi iканацоон	Съ-чужа пѣтухъ пришелъ и домашняго (своего) сталъ прогонять.
Аҩла шатћала iглоуп, зов вала дqоуп	Дерево держится корнями, человѣкъ друзьями.
Ага-бгћiцi ашха-бгћiцi эiнiовоiт	Горные и равнинные листья повстрѣчаются.
Абват авн iвназгi абвҩмгћк iгхэiт	Въ мѣдномъ домѣ живущему не хватило мѣднаго гвоздя.
Апћша iаанагаз адз iагэiт	Вѣтромъ принесенное водою унесено (т. е. легко добытое скоро пропадаетъ).
Адз штћрала iцооiт	Вода по руслу идетъ (бѣжитъ).
Ала эниҩа, абга шарцара iргоон	Собака подохла, на охоту шакала взяли.
Ахрзамана qалооiт эврћа, ахвамҩ ала тћнахiт; ахрзамана qамлэiт, iара iлашн адiун iаакћухэiт	Боясь свѣтопреставленія, червь ослѣпилъ себя; свѣтопреставленія не случилось, и слѣпой червь достался землѣ.
Адагћi сэтћоу: адз зэгi iрэiћандаз аћэiт	Лягушка сказала: ,,пусть воды гдѣ я живу, будетъ больше всего".
Апћагэ анца дiцмгћуп	Гордаго Богъ не любитъ.
Апћагэра мдрроуп	Гордость есть невѣжество.

---

*) Satureia hortensis или Thymus Serpyllum.

пhскі эікhваhаіт	Живой и мертвый столкнулись.
змаз іаб іпhсхугі, іаб іпhсхуіуіт; эгі змамз іаб іпhсхугі вуіт	Имущій по отцу и прадѣду справилъ поминки, а неимущій и по отцу не могъ ихъ справить.
мамз арбагhі цагhвара іігоон	У кого не было быка, (тотъ) пѣтуха бралъ для паханья.
баква ча эшхэда?	Не видавъ оленя, кто его убивалъ?
шаqа. ітаз аqара івіт	Заяцъ, сколько прыгалъ, столько и бѣгалъ.
ду харпhуп.	Что на кожѣ(тѣлѣ),то и рубашка.
дмпhсц упhа думрꙋ҄ан	У кого (самого) не умеръ сынъ, тому не давай оплакивать твоего сына.
ра умбац іажра вахмччан	Не смѣйся надъ старостью того, чьей молодости не видѣлъ.
ах іахівоіт	Насмѣшка возвращается насмѣшнику.
дасуу іца дасвоіт	Когда загремитъ (громъ), всякій бьетъ палкой по своему амбару.
лала іввоіт	Лошадь по породѣ бѣгаетъ.
пhсвам, шаж баавом	Старая кровь не умираетъ, не гніетъ (относится къ кровомщенію).
а аqвара ікhуххвлооіт	Несчастнаго (неудачника) на берегу воды застигла ночь.
абаху ацгушван, абаху драмт	Заяцъ на скалу пенялъ, а скала (про то) и не вѣдала.
алаба ілкшан дэгіꙋ҄ван	Ціра (имя женщины) палкой дралась, да (сама) и плакала.

116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 639

000

Caucasians, East and North Russia, Finland:
I. The Caucasian Peoples
[Kaukasien, Ost- und Nordrussland, Finnland:
I. Die kaukasischen Völker]

by Arthur Byhan

Stuttgart: 1926
Illustrierte Völkerkunde
Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 749-844

Translated from the German by Robert B. Lees

Human Relations Area Files

1962

[Title page]

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- 2. The Physical Nature, Languages, and Organization of the Caucasian Peoples [untranslated]
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Caucasia RH1

A
107
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C
102
133
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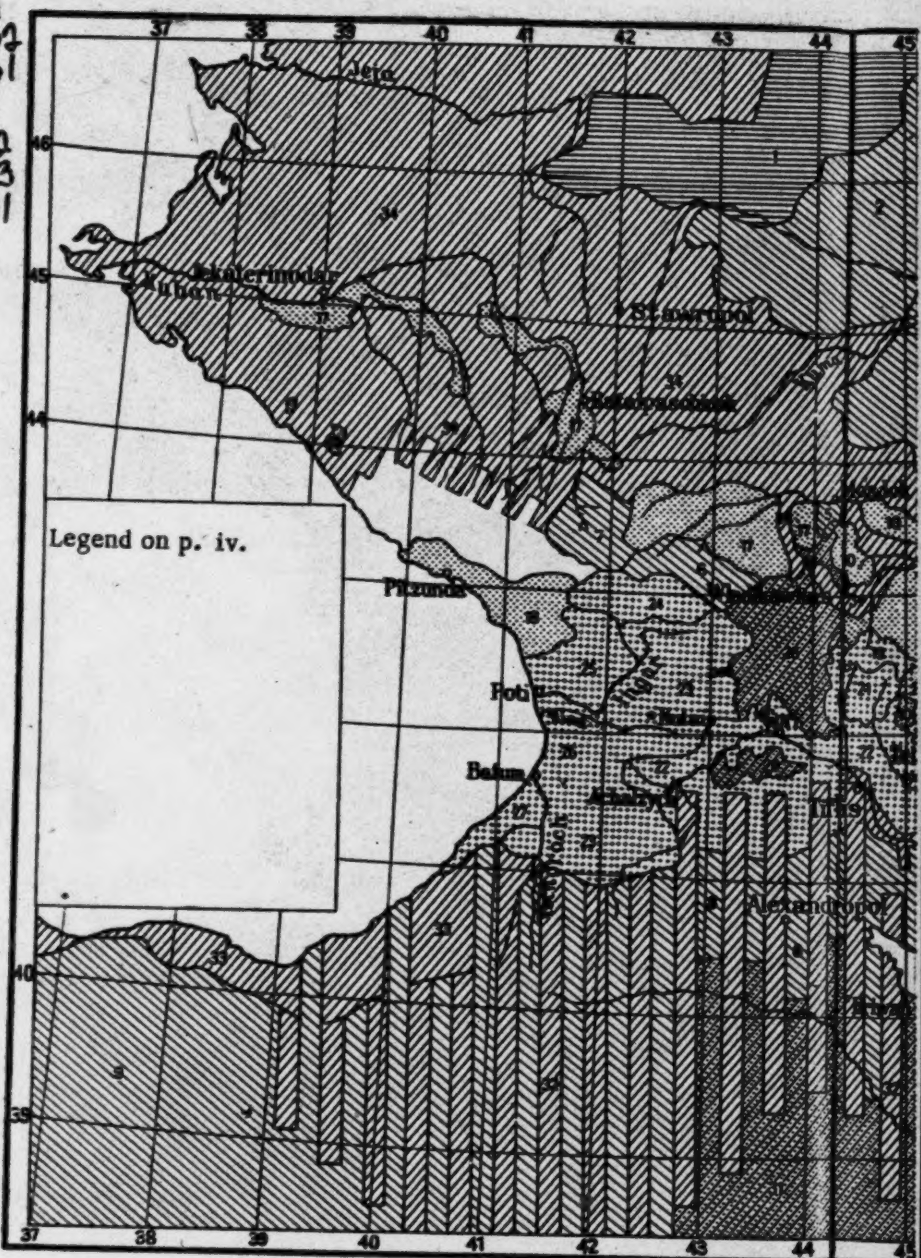

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Jeja
Jekaterinodar
Kuban
Stawropol
Pitzunda
Poti
Batum
Achalzych
Tiflis
Alexandropol
Legend on p. iv.

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2: Byhan--iii E-4 (no date) 1926

RI13 Abkhaz RI13

Caucasia RH1

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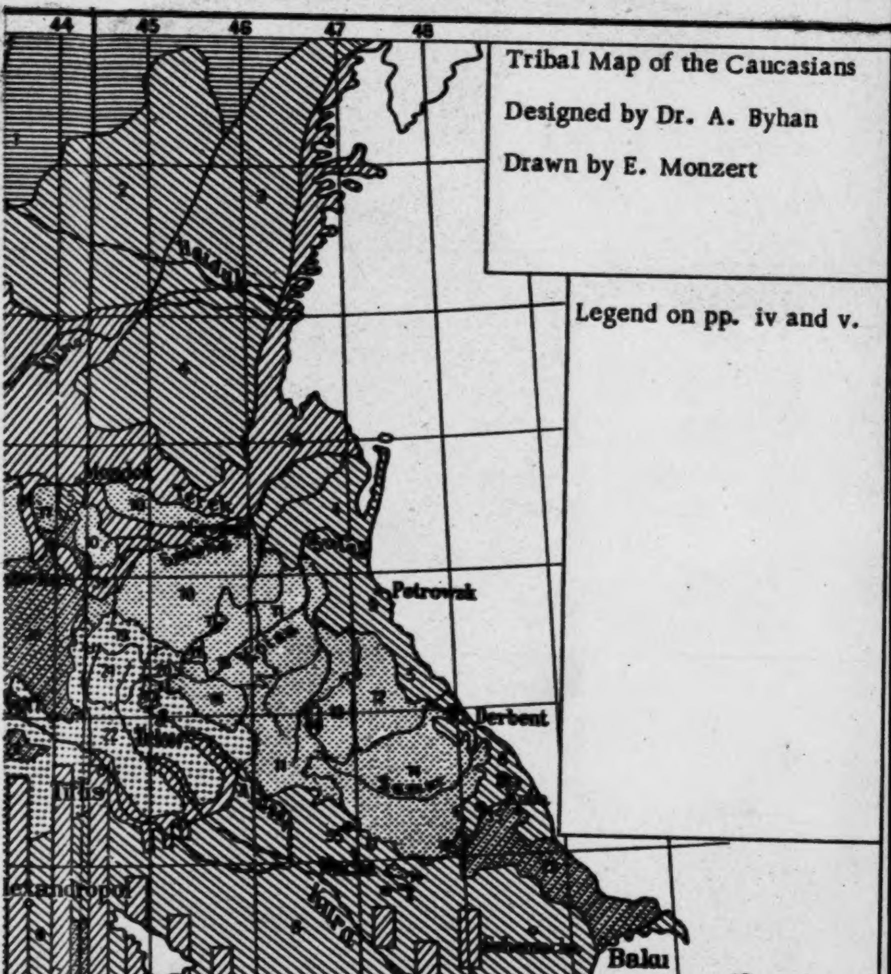
107
131
C
102
133
131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Terek
Petrowsk
Derbent
Tiflis
lexandropol
Baku
Schemacha
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Tribal Map of the Caucasians

Designed by Dr. A. Byhan

Drawn by E. Monzert

Legend on pp. iv and v.

[p. 749 (B)]

2: Byhan--iv E-4 (no date) 1926 RI13 Abkhaz RI13

Caucasia RH1

A
102
131 ▤ MONGOL:

C 1 Kalmyk

102
133 ▧
131 TURKS:

2 Turkmen /Turcoman/
3 Kirgis /Kirgiz/
4 Nogai
5 Kymyk /Kumyk/
6 Taulu
7 Karatschai /Karachai/
8 Aserbaidshan Tatar /Azerbaijani Tatar/
9 Osman

▒ CAUCASIANS:

10 Tschetschen /Chechen/
LESGHIER: /Lezgin/
11 Awar /Avar/
12 Dargin /[illegible]
13 Lak /Lek/
14 Kürin /Kurin/
15 Andi
16 Dido /Didol/

---

17 Tscherkess /Cherkess/
18 Abchas /Abkhaz/

▦ KHARTHWELIER /Karthvelians/

19 Chewsur /Khevsur/
20 Thusch /Tush/
21 Pschaw /Pshav/
22 Georgier /Grusians/
23 Jmerier /Imeretin/
24 Swan
25 Mingrel
26 Gurier /Gurian/
27 Las /Laz/

2: Byhan--v E-4 (no date) 1926

RI13 Abkhaz RI13
Caucasia RH1

A
102
131
C
102
133
131

▨ INDO-EUROPEAN:

JRANIER /IRANIANS/:

28 Ossen /Osset/
29 Tat
30 Talysch /Talysh/
31 Kurd

▨

32 Armenians
33 Greeks
34 Russians

SEMITES:

35 Mountain Jews

2: Byhan--2 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz RI3

[750]

142
091
300
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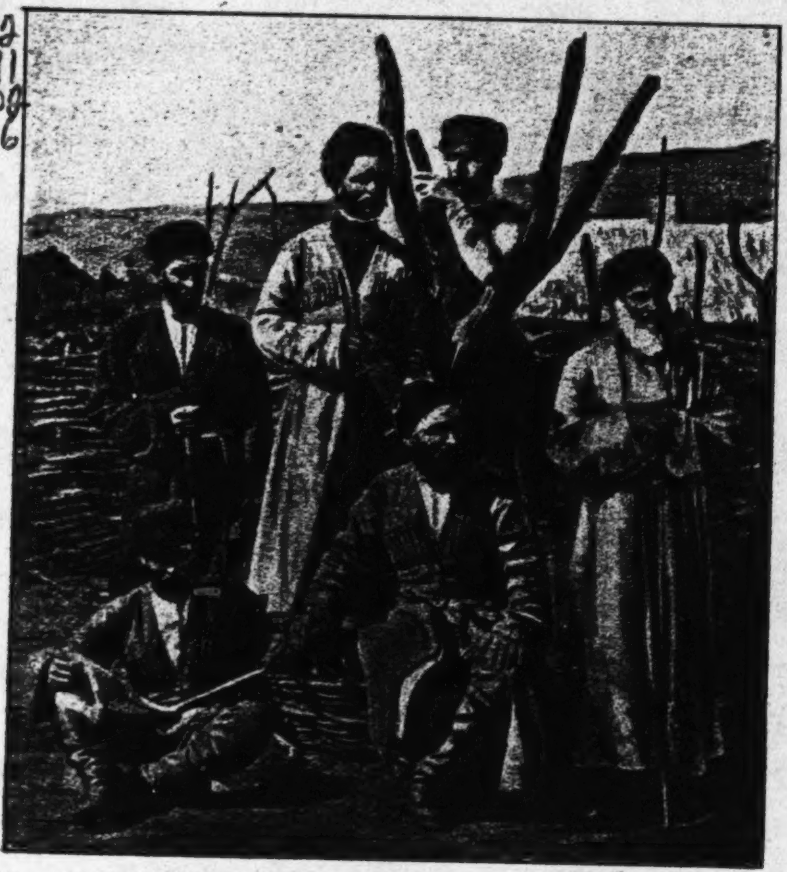

Fig. 441. Abkhaz (From Count J. Zichy)

[749] b) The Cherkess and Abkhaz

C
101 The Cherkess are called Kerketai, Kerketioi, Kerketaioi,
A Syndyi, Zygoi, Zinchoi by the Latin and Greek authors of
101 antiquity; the Abkhaz are called the Apsil by Pliny (29 to 70
A A.D.) and Arrian (100 to 160 A.D), Ap'šili and Ap'sari in
648 Georgian chronicles: Abkhazia was dependent on Georgia during
175 the first few centuries after Christ and afterwards on Lazia;
in 786 it became an independent kingdom and was united again
with Georgia by Bagrat III (980 to 1014) by marriage. Later it
again achieved independence under the house of Shervashidze
until the Russians occupied it, first the southern part, Samurzakhan,
C in 1845, and the rest of Abkhazia in 1863. The Cherkess are
101 supposed to have occupied the northern foreland to a point beyond
648 the Kuma, but later [750] [Fig. 441 appears here] to
have been pushed back over the Terek, the Kuban, and the
Malka rivers by the Tatars and, since 1777, by the Russians.
As a result of the Tatar pressure the Cherkess tribes along the
coast of the Black Sea had moved from there in the fourteenth
century and pushed in among the Nogai, Karachi, and Taulu,
C in the Kabarda district, from which they derive their present
A name. After the suppression of the revolt in Dagestan and, in
167 the autumn of 1864, the decisive defeat of the Cherkess, who
had been offering stubborn resistance for decades, most of them,
over 400,000, emigrated together with many Abkhaz, including
the entire Ubykh tribe, to Asia Minor, Syria, and the Balkan
A peninsula.

142 [751] The Abkhaz (see Fig. 441) are physically of
medium height, powerful build, and wiry. The skull

[751 cont.]

A 142 is somewhat flattened, the nose short, straight or arched, the color of the face pale brown, and that of the eyes, hair, and beard dark brown to black. Blue eyes and light hair are rare. A [143] The southern Samurzakhan show admixture with Georgians (Mingrel); they are taller, more powerfully built, and have more delicate features.

C 142 The Cherkess (see Fig. 442) are taller than the Abkhaz, slender, and have broad shoulders and narrow hips. The skull is of medium size and pear-shaped, the nose thin and straight. The face is oval; the hair and eyes are brown. The girls and young women are famous for their beauty.

A C 181 The Cherkess are proud, vengeful, cunning, insolent, good fighters, indefatigable on horseback and on foot, certain marksmen, and were formerly notorious as savage bandits. The

C
291
142
302
411

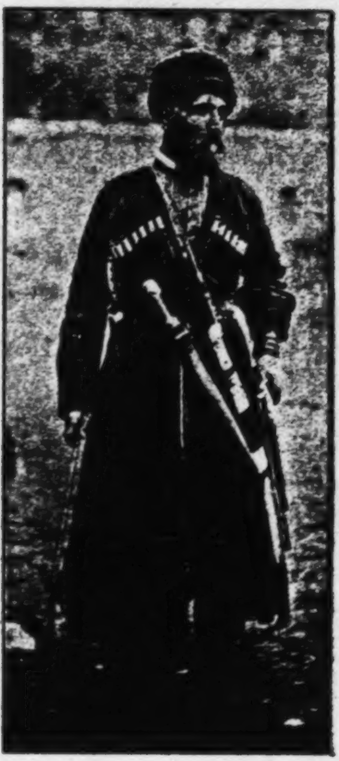

Fig. 442. Cherkess (From R. v. Erckert)

A [751 cont.]
181 Abkhaz are similarly endowed, but are distinguished from the
former by greater irritability, instability, garrulity, politeness,
and, like the Mingrel, are notorious thieves. [Fig. 442 appears
here.]

A The Abkhaz now consist of 24 or 25 kin groups or com-
101 munities; as tribes, the following have been mentioned earlier:
[621] the Ubykh between Khamise and Shakhe, the Abadzekh between
[619] Pshekups and Byelaya, the Dzhigeth between Shakhe and Mzymta;
farther south up to the Bzyb, the Bzubb, up to the Kodor, the
true Abkhaz, and in their hinterland the Tsebeldin; up to the
Galisga, the Abshav and, bordering on Mingrelia, the
Samurzakhan.

A
891 Dress. The Abkhaz women wear Cherkess, or nowadays
179 usually European, clothing (see Fig. 443), the men the Cherkess
[302] coat (see Fig. 441); they usually shave the head bare.

C The Cherkess attire for men has spread widely among the
291 Cossacks and [752] [Fig. 443 appears here] through all of
A Caucasia as far as the lowland Georgians in the south, and the
[199] women's attire has been adopted by the neighboring Abkhaz,
Karachai, and Osset. The men's costume (see Fig. 442) con-
sists of a short (yana) of white linen or red taffeta, baggy pants,
a silk embroidered undergarment with a collar, a long robe
(tsié) open at the chest, made of black or gray cloth, with
cartridge pockets (khazyr) on the breast, narrow belt strap,
leather leggings, sandals of leather or linden bark, cap (papakh)
of white or black sheepskin (see Fig. 444), and in addition, for
bad weather, a black coat (tšauka, burka) of goat and sheep wool,
C with a hood (gʻetapt) that is draped around in such a manner
302 that the right arm remains free. They cut their hair off short,
C leaving only a braided tuft (haidar). Out-of-doors they carry
411 a dagger (kama, see Fig. 449) on the belt, and from a sword-
belt they hang a saber, the blade of which is often Damascus,
C Khorassan, Hungarian, or Lezgin work and which is often inlayed
[439] with silver or gold on a black background, as are also the studs
[492] of the horse's harness and other parts of the armament. This
further consists of: pistol (see Fig. 450), flintlock rifle with

A
291
142

[752 cont.]

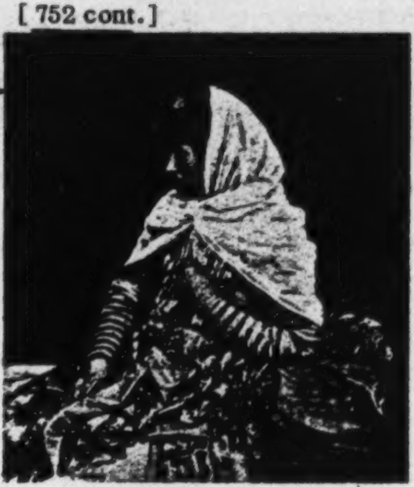

Fig. 443. Abkhaz Woman

C
411
[439]

octagonal damascened barrel, in earlier times imported from Bakhchisarai in the Crimea, in a sheath of skin, leather, or felt (see Fig. 451, 1), or a knout (see Fig. 451, 8, 10).

C
714
411

Earlier it also included (see Fig. 445) a shirt of mail (affé) with a cotton lining, [Fig. 444 appears here] [753] arm bands (abkhumbukh), hand guard (ašteld), helmet (taš) or skullcap (kipʻa), battle-ax, javelin with barbs, bow, quiver,

C
[554]

and arrows. Only the nobles were permitted to use white eagle feathers for feathering the arrows.

A
291

The parts of the women's costume are (see Fig. 446): a thin shirt of red silk (kanaús) with long sleeves, over that an undergarment of striped silk with sleeves that are narrow at the top, wide at the bottom, and pleated, over it a bodice with [Fig. 445 appears here] gold and silver embroidery and lacing of silver balls and plates, and a long coat with a wide richly decorated piece of material set in at each sleeve, pants usually of yellow silk, (formerly among the Abkhaz, white for girls, red for women, blue for widows), leather belt with

K
[291]

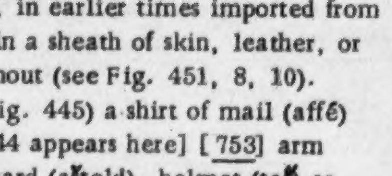

Fig. 444. Kabardin Cap of Lambskin (From Count J. Zichy)

2 [753 cont.]

291 silver and gold studs, shoes of soft leather and gold or silver embroidered, pointed overshoes with thick soles and high heels, on the head a 15-centimeter-high conical cap of silk richly ornamented with gold and silver lace, buttons, plates, and
C chains, and finally a white interwoven veil which hangs far down
[302] from the cap. The braid of hair is entwined with white stripes of

C [714] [302] [342]

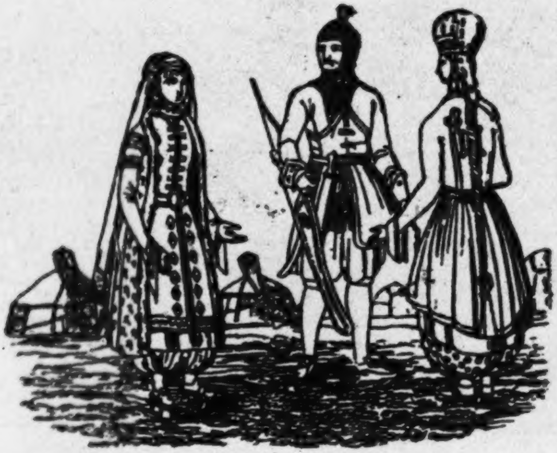

Fig. 445. Cherkess fully armed, with Woman and Girl. Domed tents in background. (From Spencer, 1837.)

cotton that hang down to the feet. Under the shirt the girls always wear a tight bodice of leather that is not taken off until the wedding.

A
361 Dwelling. The farmsteads of the Abkhaz do not lie next to one another as in a village, but are widely scattered and hidden in the dense tree-growth of the gardens in the vicinity of a spring
A
342 or brook. The newer houses are [754] made of planks on piles,
[177] in the style of the Mingrel or Imeretin. The older huts are the most primitive in all the Caucasian forest regions and resemble the huts in the summer encampments of Macedonian shepherds. [Fig. 446 appears here.]

Cherkess RH5
Kabardin RH6

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[754 cont. /

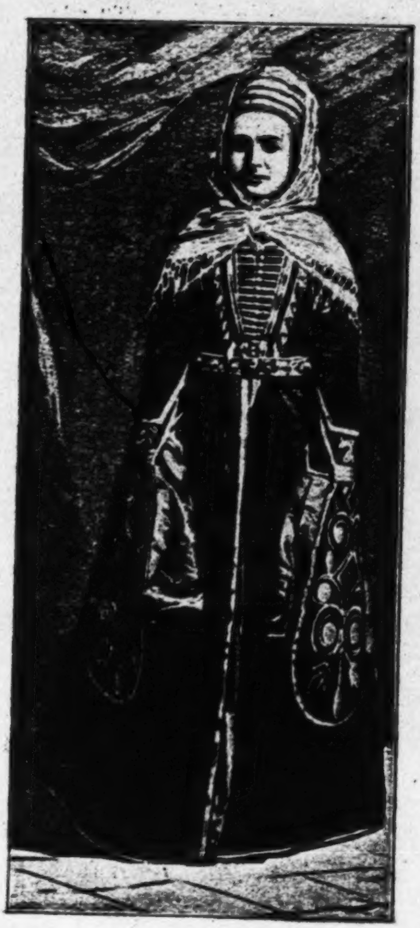


Fig. 446. Kabardin Woman (From Count J Zichy)

A
342

The main house (p‘ats’kha) is rectangular; the walls are merely plaited twigs and even in winter are only rarely covered with ferns. The flat or slanted thatched roof is supported at the front door by two inclined posts (amakratl-khkwa = scissors) meeting at the top, one post in the back wall, and four corner posts standing at a distance of some 30 to 60 centimeters from the house. The front part is the living space; the back part, partitioned off, is reserved

A [754 cont.]
349 for guests and, in winter, for the livestock. The hearth lies in
[354] the middle; over it hangs the kettle and sometimes a chimney
A tapering sharply at the top. Next to it stands a long, wide
352 bench, and against one wall a plank-bed made of boards, on
which are the beds and a chest. In one corner are kept the whet-
A stone, mortar stone, baskets, troughs, utensils for preparing
412 millet and maize, milk bucket, cups and spoons of wood and
415 horn, gourd containers, etc., and harnesses, saddles, and weapons
499 353 hang on the walls.

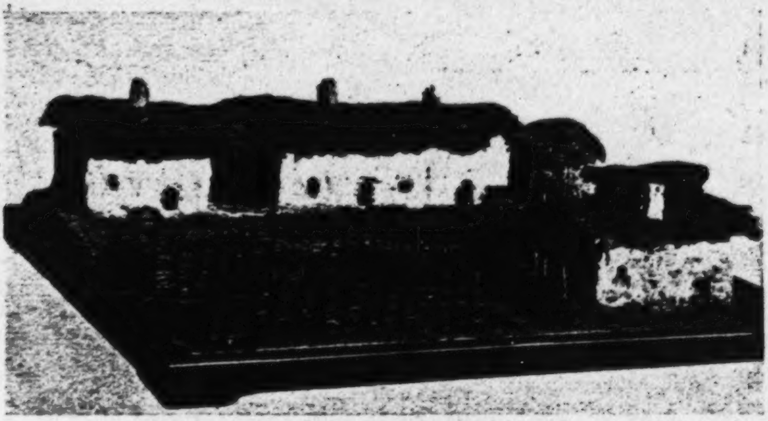
A Another type (khkwatsu) corresponds in purpose to certain
342 pile-huts on east Serbian and east Macedonian farms: they are the
sleeping huts for young married couples. They stand in the yard
near the main house, are round and plaited of hazel switches,
and the walls lean inward slightly. The roof is conical and
bound at the top with willow twigs, and the whole hut is covered
A with reeds, ferns, dried weeds, and the like.

A 351 [755] In the yard, which is surrounded by a plashed
343 hedge, there are, in addition, a summer kitchen of wickerwork,
plaited granaries on piles (cf. Figs. 246, 247 [in untranslated portion]) for storing corncobs, a wine house with the wine press,
A barrels, baskets for the vintage, and the like. The latter are
285 round, pointed at the bottom, about 60 centimeters high and 15
245 centimeters wide; a large hook is tied on at the top so that when
the grapes are being picked it can be hung on the branches of the
C tall grapevines, like our fruit basket.

361 The Cherkess farmsteads likewise lie hidden in groups
in [Fig. 447 appears here] copses of oak, beech, elm [Ulmen],
C elm [Elmen], ash, pear, and plum trees. The dwelling is
342 built of mud bricks or wickerwork smeared with mud; the span-roof is covered with straw that is held fast by poles, and it often
juts out in front one to one and a quarter meters as in the Balkan
and Crimean Tatar huts. The stable usually takes up one side of
the house, living space the other; a door on the long side leads
C to each of them. The interior furnishings are like those of the
352 Abkhaz house;[1] the hearth, however, is found here at an out-
354 side wall, and the wickerwork chimney hanging over it is pear-shaped and sticks out one and a half to two meters above the
roof. In the yard there are also a larger winter stable for sheep

[1] [See top of this page--Analyst]

[755 cont.] In the yard there are also a larger winter stable for sheep 343
and goats and the [756] granary (see Fig. 248 [in untranslated
portion]), which rests on six posts one and a quarter meters high
and covered with flat stones and on four beams, supported by six
smaller stones, the interior of which is divided into four com-
partments for the various kinds of grain; otherwise the grain is [171]
also stored (as in Albania) in pear-shaped pits, lined with hay
and closed off with boards and earth. The fenced fields adjoin 351
the yard, which is fenced in by a plashed hedge. 241



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351

Fig. 447. Cherkess Farmstead in the Village Biberd (Model in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg)

In earlier times, when the Cherkess were continually 361
engaged in battle with the Tatars and the Russians, they were [648]
more closely united. The houses formed a circle of 40 to 50, in
the middle of which [Fig. 448 appears here] the animals and
unarmed persons were sheltered at night. The latrine huts [343]
stood about 15 meters from the houses. The villages in the
Temirgoy (Kʻemirkwehe) district on the middle Kuban were
surrounded by a double paling three meters high, with an
earth filling one and a quarter meters wide, in which embrasures
had been left. On the inside a roof of reed or straw ran
around it, under which the field implements and the livestock
were placed. The narrow entrance-gates in the entrenchment
were barricaded with wooden blocks and two-wheeled carts.
The entrenchments that the peasants erected in their fields were 712

C [756 cont.]
712 laid out similarly, except that they had wickerwork instead of poles. The shepherds built themselves watchtowers, resting on four piles, made of beams eight meters high laid horizontally on top of one another, which likewise were provided with embrasures.

C
726
342
[177] On their war and raiding expeditions the Cherkess used tents which they had probably borrowed from the neighboring Tatars. The simpler ones consisted of two inclined poles bound together at the top, over which the felt coverings were hung, and the supporting ropes were made fast in the woods on any convenient root. The better-equipped ones had the beehive shape of the Tatar-Mongol tents (Vol. II, I, Figs. 231, 232); they were [757]

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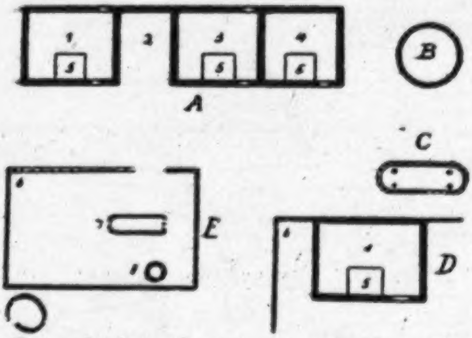

Fig. 448. Ground plan of a Cherkess farmstead in the village Biberd. A Dwelling: 1, 3, and 4, rooms with (5) fireplaces and chimneys of wickerwork, 2 open room; B, small wickerwork stable with thatched roof; C, wickerwork maize-granary on piles; D, house with fireplace (5) and chimney, serving as winter stable, surrounded by a plashed hedge (6); E, fenced-in barnyard with troughs (7 and 8).

C
726
342
[352] draped on the inside with rush-mats and carpeted with rugs, had a smoke-hole at the top, and probably also had lattice-work and a stable roof framework like the aforementioned central Asiatic tents.

A
233 Domestic economy. Until recently the Abkhaz engaged principally in animal husbandry, although the climate is

Cherkess RH5

A [757 cont.]

233 unfavorable for it, for example, the cattle are therefore small. The herdsmen wandered with the stock from pasture to pasture, and from time to time built [Fig. 449 appears here] anew their

A wickerwork huts (see above, p. 6), which they took along with

241 them. Now agriculture seems to predominate; the major crop is maize, but earlier it was spiked millet or, less often, wheat. Besides these, they also cultivate beans, flax, hemp, cotton,

C

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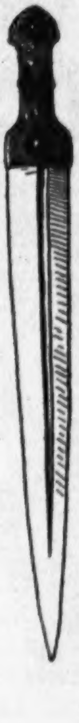


Fig. 449. Cherkess dagger with bone handle, colored green, and silver studs (1/3 natural size) (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg).

A

241 tobacco (that grown in Sukhumi is known as the best in the Caucasus), rice, climbing cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, many grapes and fruits: apples, pears, plums, figs, chestnuts,

A pomegranates, nuts, and others. Berry bushes grow on the slopes

222 in great number, but their fruit is almost never used in the economy, as in Georgia.

2: Byhan--12 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz RI3
Kabardin RH6
Cherkess RH5

[757 cont.]

K 233 The Kabardin still occupy themselves principally with the raising of sheep, goats, cattle, and horses, which have Arabic blood, are taller and more powerfully built than the Abkhaz horses, and are famous for their beauty and endurance. C 241 The other Cherkess have changed over more to agriculture since the end of the fighting with the Russians.

They clear the land that they wish to seed, burn off the grass in the spring, as is also done on the pastures and meadows, and then plow and harrow with the brush-harrow [Strauchegge] (see above, p. 686 [untranslated]); until recently there was no fertilization with manure. Earlier, when the land around a village was exhausted, they merely dismantled the huts and settled in another place.

C 256 While the grain is ground in a water or horse mill, millet is husked by means of a pitted surface [Anke] (see above, p. 693 [untranslated]) and a wooden disk turned by hand, as is customary in Finland, and ground with a hand-mill by the women.

C A 231 Bees are often kept here, as in Abkhazia.

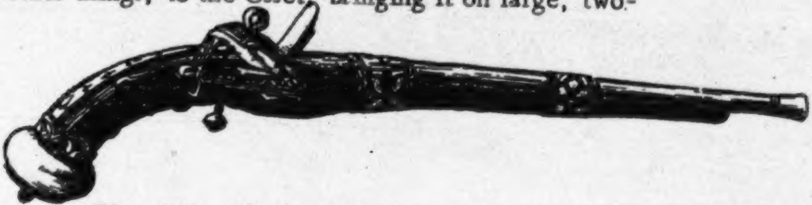
The beehives resemble those commonly used by us; they are cut out of linden bark or plaited out of willow twigs and smeared with clay and cow manure. As protection from the rain, a thick straw plaiting is laid on top. [758] Swarms that have flown out are caught with a bark cover fastened on a stick. In July and August, the hives are placed in the forests of the foothills, otherwise near the villages.

A C 462 The women have the same tasks as among the mountain peoples; among the Abkhaz, however, the men help in the fields, fruit orchards, vineyards, and at other tasks. A C [281] Among other things, the women also produce morocco leather (tsuš), from which belts, shoes, bedding, etc. are made. A C [412] [493] Besides vessels and utensils, the men carve beautiful spoons out of wood and horn, build wagons (γkū) with two disk-wheels that are hewn out of a single piece of wood and the axle turns with them (cf. Fig. 416 [in untranslated portion]). A C [389] They used to produce their own gunpowder, leeching the saltpeter (gin-khuš = powder-salt) for it from sheep manure. [Fig. 450 appears here.]

A C 326 [758 cont.]

Silversmiths and blacksmiths are almost the only
A C [411] artisans; the former occupied themselves earlier with the
ornamentation of weapons in particular; the latter, of
whom there are two or three in every village, make
[412] dagger blades, sickles, bits for horses, horseshoes, and
[492] the like. Among the Abkhaz their profession is par-
A ticularly honored and esteemed (see p. 25 , cf. Africa).

437 In earlier times trade was based exclusively on
barter. Before the incursion of the Russians (end of the
C 439 eighteenth century), the Cherkess traded salt, among
other things, to the Osset, bringing it on large, two-



C [311]

Fig. 450. Cherkess pistol with flintlock, bone pommel, and silver fittings (1/4 natural size) (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg).

C [493] wheeled carts, drawn by six to eight oxen, from the
[317] salt-lakes along the Caspian Sea between Terek and
Kuma. As products of their industry they sold princi-
pally wax, honey, skins, cloth, capes, and the like,
C as well as slaves. Linen material in pieces the size of
436 a shirt served as a measure of value for all wares.

C At that time the men, when not engaged in war,
224 devoted themselves by preference to hunting and raiding.
721 In order not to be understood by other people, and also
C 198 to confuse the game, two kinds of secret language were
used: the words in the one (šakobže) are completely
different from the Cherkess language; in the other
(faršipse) a ri or fe is inserted after every syllable.

Cherkess RH 5
Caucasia RH 1

[759] [Fig. 451 appears here.]

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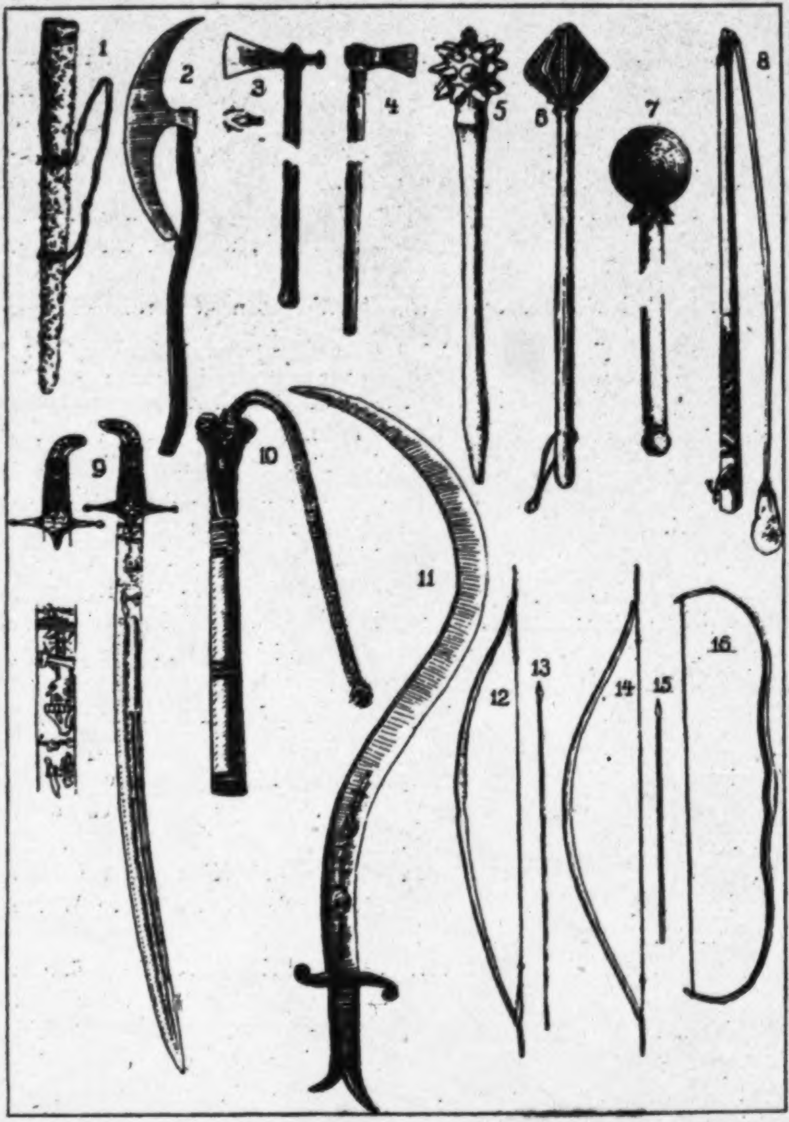

Fig. 451. Caucasian weapons: 1, weapon sheath of black felt with leather fittings; 2, 3, 4, battle-axes with iron blades and wooden stocks; 5, 6, 7, clubs with iron heads; 8, knout with handle decorated with silver; 9, sword with Georgian inscription; 10, knout with plaited leather cord; 11, saber (allegedly Armenian); 12, 14, bows with string of twisted hemp rope; 13, 15, arrows with iron points; 16, bow of horn and bone (Turkish style) (1, 1/22 nat. size; 2-4, 1/10 nat. size; 5-10, 1/7 nat. size; 9, 1/9 nat. size; 12, 14, 16, 1/16 nat. size; 13, 15, 1/15 nat. size) (From Count J. Zichy).

2: Byhan--15 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz RI3
Cherkess RH5

A 264 [760] Food. The daily dishes of the Abkhaz are cornmeal mush (abysta), which is eaten with strips of cheese instead of a spoon, sour milk, and millet prepared with cheese (ačladž) or with milk and cheese (acšamukhhkua). In the winter they often eat meat, A [243] especially goat. As everywhere, red pepper, garlic, and bitter herbs serve as seasonings. The women cook cone-shaped breads (arvasa) in milk for festive days and in water during fasts.

A C 264 Like the Abkhaz, the Cherkess like to eat raw cucumbers with butter, salt, and red pepper, cooked young pumpkins, carrots, wild asparagus, dandelions, and other vegetables; also much rice and thick, stiff mush (pasta) made of wheat grains cooked without salt; formerly it was more often made of unhulled millet (pasta) or hulled millet (hatlama). Flat cakes (medžaga) of ground millet were also baked. Mutton and beef is often eaten with a gravy of sour milk and grated garlic (tusluk) or of honey and butter (fau'tgo). Sour milk (škau), curds, and cheese fill out the daily fare. Festive dishes are: spelt noodles with diced, hardboiled eggs, curds, sour milk, some butter, onions, and garlic (khinkal); flat cakes of wheat flour, eggs, and milk, simmered in butter (širaldama); small cakes of the same dough filled with curds and onions or with honey (haliva), dried apples, apricots cooked in wine and honey, and other fruits, etc.

A C 272 273 Festive drinks are: whisky (arka, fada fitsa = black F.), mead (fada pliš = red F.), millet beer (fada khuš = white F.), honey water (fau'uš), cooked cider with added honey, raisins, and blackberry juice, beer (šür), light and heavy wines from wild and cultivated grapes.

A 594 Society and family. As among other mountain peoples (see p. 732 [untranslated]), so also among the Abkhaz the father (awn aihab) and the mother (awn aihab ap's) of the house manage the affairs of the kin group [Sippe] and perform the cult ceremonies. A 597 They have a peculiar custom: an adult can be adopted by another kin group as though he were a child if he has kissed the mother of the house on the breast three times.

C 565 Up to 1866 the same positions existed among the Cherkess as among the Osset: princes (pši), noblemen (work), who were followers of the former in battle; those freed by the princes

C [760 cont.]
565 and noblemen and who had thus [761] become noble themselves;
C and serfs (tšo'kõtl). The last were either peasants and could not
[566] be sold individually, or they were servants and were sometimes
freed (begaulia). The peasants had to attend to the needs and
obligations of the nobles, and these to those of the princes, but
in return received gifts from them. In the case of disputes and
C on important occasions, princes, noblemen, and respected peas-
[627] ants took council together. This feudal system was most highly
C developed in Kabarda, and the Kabardin were the teachers of the
[177] neighboring peoples as far as mode of living, horsemanship,
A dress, and weapons were concerned. A pronounced aristocratic
[565] pride prevailed among the Cherkess, and their noblemen considered themselves as high as the princes of the Abkhaz and others.
Therefore, at marriage the greatest weight was placed on
equality of birth; sons of the princes by serf girls could become
princes only through marriage with princesses, and then only
princes of third degree.

C
439 The Cherkess sold many of the serfs and slaves to Turkey,
where the Cherkess women were sought for their beauty; they
[567] were never daughters of the princes or noblemen, however, who
[565] were only to be won by their peers through marriage and bride
price, but rather, except for personal slaves, they dealt in
C Abkhaz women and captives from the Cossacks and other enemy
567 peoples. Slaves could achieve freedom through marriage to a
597 Cherkess woman or through adoption; this was accomplished by
having the slave, as mentioned above, suckle at the breast of
the woman in question in the presence of the senior member of
the kin group (cf. p. 76).

A
583 Marriage. Up to fifty years ago among the Abkhaz the
young men, accompanied by friends, used to steal a girl of
equal rank whom they desired as a wife. Today the abduction
A takes place by an understanding with the girl or her parents, but
[584] usually the suitor works through a mediator (dade) or female
matchmaker and pays a purchase price, besides the reciprocal
gifts. Refusal of the offer results in abduction or alienation of
the kin group.

A
585 After the betrothal banquet the groom remains for
three days in the bride's house or in the vicinity, but he may not

A [761 cont.]
585 eat with her people or show his face, which he conceals with the hood of his coat. The bride now stays for a time in a special hut (amhara), after which a feast is arranged and she is blessed by the father of the house; the same is done for the groom when he returns to his father's house (apʻkhašarkhe = removal of shame). The customs at the wedding, which takes place after the trousseau is completed, are almost the same as among the Osset (see p. 76). The young bride continues to live in the aforementioned small hut and may not speak with anyone. The young
A married couple may not visit the parents of the groom at the
[606] same time for several years afterward, and the two of them may
[593] never eat with them at the same time. The man may never utter
[602] his wife's name, nor she that of her husband or those of his rela-
[551] tives, in front of others.

C
583 [762] Among the Cherkess, too, girls are seldom stolen
582 now; the bride is acquired for money and animals. The men marry from fifteen to twenty-five, the girls from twelve to sixteen years of age. During courtship (nakekh) the priest (mollah) com-
A C
584 pletes the marriage contract after closure of the sale, as among the Mohammedan Abkhaz, whereby he joins the hands of the representatives of the bride's people. About two months later
C
585 the purchase price is turned over, and soon thereafter the two- to three-week wedding festivities take place, with which are associated several peculiar customs preserved best in Kabarda.

The custom is so closely connected to the former abduction and defense by the kin group that, after the appearance of the bride, her mounted escorts defend themselves with their knouts against the youths, who stand in front of the house and attempt to unhorse them with poles until they succeed in jumping over the fence and gaining entrance to the house.

The groom is taken in for the wedding days as a "foster-son" (kan) by another kin group, from which he is assigned an escort (šatso-kot) of his own age, who attends him, hides him, since he is not allowed to meet older men until the "reconciliation" (see below), watches near him during the night, and rides about with him in the daytime in the hill pastures; here he gives him animals (šaga = for roasting), which he gives his people and

[762 cont.]

585 his "foster parents." On the wedding day, at midnight, the escort takes him to the bride, who shows no more fear of this escort than she would of a brother; she is then left alone by the bride's sister, and the escort remains watching near her until morning.

On the first night the young man undresses his bride, removes her veil, headdress, outer clothing, shoes, and especially the tight red-leather bodice which he must not cut open, but rather unfasten carefully at the laces on the front; in the morning he gives it to the escort, and the latter presents it to one of his sisters. He undresses his wife also on the second and third night; not until the fourth night does she undress her husband, and she may now speak with him, which she was not permitted to do earlier.

[591] [788] [891] The "installation" (unaiše) of the woman in the kin group's house by the other women follows a week later; during this evil spirits are warded off by shots and cries and the woman herself is veiled and walks on stilt-shoes. She steps over the skin of a freshly slaughtered sheep to go into the house, where, without a veil, she is put against the wall, and a sweet preparation [763] of sheep-fat or butter and honey (urtsetl) is put in her mouth so that her new life will be sweet (cf. p. 77).

In the evening several days later at the "reconciliation" of the man, the parents, young girls, and older men sit apart from one another in his house. An old man calls him and, after he has been led from his hiding-place to the door by his friends, hands him a vessel of beer sweetened with honey and at the same time tells him that he need not hide himself, that he has done no wrong but rather has brought happiness to them, and that he should therefore become reconciled. His friends then feast and drink beer, and on the second day following the women and girls eat roasted and boiled chickens which the youths have collected at the various farms during the previous days.

Two days later the young men celebrate the "turning of the keys" (šinak-gagerös): from time to time several of them place themselves around a vessel filled with beer, it is then spun around, and when it stops the youth to whom the handle points

Cherkess R#5

[763 cont.]

C
585 must empty it. Finally, on the same evening the old men dance at the young married couple's house, a fiddler (pšinato) strikes
C
[533] up a tune, and several young men and girls serve; a wandering minstrel (gegwako) presents congratulatory and comic songs to
A
the accompaniment of the two-stringed violin (see p. 30).

C
595 Polygamy is permitted among the Mohammedan Abkhaz and Cherkess--among the latter it was permitted also in the sixteenth century when they were still Christians--but nearly all of them have only one wife. She lives in a part of the house reserved for her, where the man visits her secretly at night, but she is freer and more respected than is usual in the Orient (cf. p. 709 and 732 [untranslated]). Her presence prevents manslaughter and blood vengeance, and a fugitive finds protection with her (see p. 29).

C
586 The Cherkess can declare himself free of his wife in the presence of witnesses and marry again if he leaves the purchase price with her parents. If he has merely sent her back and has not taken her back within two years, her father or one of her people go to him in order to come to an agreement about the divorce; afterwards the woman, too, may marry again.

In earlier times when a Cherkess woman committed adultery, the husband had her hair shorn, cut off her sleeves, notched her ears, and sent her on horseback to her father, who
C
585 sold her or put her to death. The same fate befell the bride if her husband found that she was not a virgin; he then recovered the purchase price.

Rearing of children. The Abkhaz and Cherkess noblemen and princes do not raise their children themselves. They [764] formerly entrusted them in their third or fourth year to another nobleman or peasant, who received nothing for his efforts but the best part of the booty brought home by his ward when grown up.

C
844 Soon after birth, before which the father leaves the house for several days, princely Cherkess children are put in
C
608 the care of a nurse (anadzdzey) and a foster father (abadzdzey), together with cradle, linen, clothing, wash-caldron, a buffalo,

C [764 cont.]

608 [431] cow, and other things. After two to three years they take their ward (akhup'a), together with gifts of animals and food, to the parents, who honor them and give them rich gifts. After the child comes of age, the foster-father gives him back to his parents, who give him animals, weapons, and money and honor him as a close relative. If the foster child dies before this, he buries him in accordance with custom, holds the memorial service, makes an offering, etc.; if his ward is orphaned, he also buys him a bride or induces him to abduct one.

C [867] [868] Rearing is aimed at teaching the boy good manners, perserverance, courage, bravery, skill in horsemanship, fencing, shooting, and, formerly, manipulation of the bow and skill in raiding. For his part, the ward must stand by his foster parents, search for lost property, and protect them from robbery and insult, if need be with the help of his own parents. If the foster father, foster mother, or one of their children dies, he procures the coffin, leads the interment and memorial ceremonies, and observes the rules of mourning. The foster-father's sons are his devoted friends; if one of them marries, he gives the bride rich gifts, or when one of them has abducted a girl, he takes her into his protection, and, as a prince's son, no one would seize him for it.

C [867] [868] [291] Noble girls are likewise given to foster parents, who instruct them in the manual skills of women and teach them modesty, obedience, and the like. In the seventh or tenth year, the laced leather bodice is put on them (see above, p. 18).

A C 551 The children of Christians are occasionally baptized and given a Christian name, but the name by which they are usually called is, as among the Osset, the native one chosen at birth--among the Moslems, many Tatar or Arabic ones are used. Such are, for example, Goinuqua (= fur-son), Keltšuqua (= wish-son), Keltsuqua (= wish-son), Koituqua [765] (= upside-down son), Meiremaqua (= Friday-son), T'a'šine (= lamb of God), T'agelak (fear of God), 'Adzug (= young dog), Togdžuqua (= fat-man's son); Temir (= iron), Petak (= twig), Košbaš (= double head), and the like. Feminine: Džennet (= bliss),

Cherkess RH5

[765 cont.]

A C 551 Devlet-khan, Tatema, Kistaman, Tepsike, Gošop'o khuraya (= round prince's-daughter), etc.

A 766 Death. In Abkhazia, when someone has been struck by lightning, he is laid in a coffin, and this is hung on a tree (as in old Lazistan, see above, p. 671 [untranslated], in Siberia, and other places), until the body has completely decayed; then the bones are buried.

C 766 In the sixteenth century the Cherkess used to seat the body of a nobleman, after having removed the entrails, on a tall, wooden bedstead in the field for a week. The two nearest relatives stood nearby, and on the bed was a girl who brushed away the flies with a silk cloth stuck on an arrow, while the first of his wives sat at his head without weeping. Afterwards the body, with clothing and weapons, was laid in a split and hollowed tree trunk, along with part of the gifts, silver vessels, bows, arrows, and the like, which relatives, friends, and serfs had brought, and set on the ground at the burial-place; over it was raised a mound whose height showed how much esteem the deceased had enjoyed. As a sacrifice for the dead, the innocence of a twelve to fourteen-year-old girl was offered, which the youths attempted to take by force as she lay on an ox-skin. After the burial a servant led the dead man's bridled horse to the grave on several days and called him to eat three times.

A C 764 Now deceased persons are laid to rest with the assistance of a Christian or Mohammedan clergyman (mullah). The lamentation for the dead at the coffin and amidst the clothing A [771] and weapons of the deceased, the feast for the dead, etc. resemble the customs of the Khevsur (see p. 737 and following [untranslated]); here, however, male mourners, too, kneel at the coffin. While the body is being carried to the grave, a rope is thrown over the roof and pulled back and forth in order to determine whether the house, which has been severely shaken by the departure of the deceased, still stands firm (as in Mingrelia). In earlier times, the Cherkess also threw the right ear of his horse into the grave, after they had first put the reins into the dead man's hands and led the horse around the grave three times (cf. p. 80). The mother, the wife, and the foster

[765 cont.] The mother, The wife, and the foster
A c 765 mother mourn at the grave for forty days in the morning and in the evening, and for the same length of time, or sometimes for a whole year, food for the deceased is put on the table during meals.

[766] The first memorial service takes place on the fortieth day, the second one during the second year, usually in the autumn. On the evening preceding the latter (ap's-khuvra = assigning to the soul), the clothes, the horse with the saddle, and the weapons of the deceased are laid out, there is mourning in the house and at the grave, and sacrificial animals are slaughtered. A party of village members in mourning clothes and barefoot bring up animals and food; among them a man carries lighted candles on a twig-shaped holder, as do the oxen on their horns. The next day the horse of the dead man is led around in a circle three times in a field, and the relatives follow
A c [775] it, lamenting in mourning clothes; after this, the soul of the dead, which until then had remained invisibly among them for the time being, has finally departed from the earth. After the memorial
A [171] feast the youths and men hold oratory exercises, shooting matches, and races, as among the Khevsur (see p. 738 [untranslated], and below, p.30).

A c 764 The burial grounds, which contain the graves for each kin group, usually lie on elevations and are fenced in. Small houses of planks with shingle roofs--in contrast to the usual building style--are erected over the graves, which are themselves lined with boards, and fruit trees are planted nearby.

A 775 Among the Abkhaz, too, there is the belief that the souls of the dead have the same needs as the living, and for this reason they build these grave-shelters, lay slices of melon and cucumber on the graves, and for a year after death put food for them on the table during the meals. At the second
A [765] memorial celebration the father of the house places in the yard a millet-dumpling over which wine has been poured and pieces of the heart and liver from the sacrificial animal. If the souls are neglected, they come to the house at night and whistle,
A [753] whereupon food and wine is given to them. When the souls, the "outer ones," are angered, they bring about weakness and sickness among animals and men. Then one tries to console

2: Byhan--23 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz RI3

Cherkess RH5

A [766 cont.] Then one tries to console

775 the dead (angip'sngis) with prayer and sacrifices of meat and sour

[255] milk, which are laid on a cloth under a protective roof near some clothing and, in the case of female souls, trinkets, and begs for the recovery of the stricken person, who stands nearby and whose back is stroked for "deliverance" (azati).

- A

775 When someone has drowned and his body has been buried, his soul is supposed to have remained in the water and must be

766 fetched out. For this purpose they hang a leather shoulder-sack on a silk string over the stream in question, and men and women stand on the back singing and playing the harp to entice the soul into the sack. As soon as the soul has slipped in, a man jumps into the water and ties the sack shut, he then takes it to the grave and allows the soul to enter into its body through a hole.

A

175 [767] Religious beliefs and customs. Christianity is supposed to have been brought to Abkhazia, according to the

771 Georgian chronicle of Vakhtang V, about 40 A.D., but apparently did not find favorable soil, since there are no reports of successful propagation until the time of the Byzantine occupation of the coastal cities. Emperor Justinian had a large church erected at Bitshvinta (pitzunda) where the Abkhaz Catholics and the Georgian governor then had their residence. At the end of the seventeenth century most of the Abkhaz were induced by the

A

[776 Tatars to take up Islam, and only the Samurakhan remained faithful to Christianity, but the many ruins of churches and monasteries are regarded by them as holy places to which they

788] make pilgrimages and on which they take oaths. Also several customs may have a Christian origin: use of wax tapers and incense, colored Easter-eggs, respect for the sign of the cross,

C

771 fasting, eating of pork, and the like. The Cherkess, in whose lands few remains of churches are to be found, gave up Christianity for Islam later than the Abkhaz; the Kabardin were converted to it toward the middle of the eighteenth century, and the others, under Turkish influence, toward the end of the eighteenth century. Both religions, however, have exerted as little influence

A

[771] as among the mountain Georgians, for the old indigenous beliefs and customs have never been given up.

A

776 The gods of the Abkhaz are very similar to those of the

[170] sset (see pp. 86 f.). A supreme god (Antsar mz) is ruler over

[767 cont.]

776 good and bad. The Hammerers (Ašatsatšap‘atsa) decide the fate of the newborn and write it on their foreheads (lakhintsara). As nature gods they worship the protector of cattle (Aft‘ar), of goats (Džabran), of wild game (Ažvepša), of the earth (Adabna), of the rainbow (Atsakwa), and the protectress of the water (Dzlan dzahwas‘), of the wind (P‘šarn‘a), of seeds (Dž‘adž‘a and Anap‘anga), of dogs (Ališkantra), of bees (Ananagund), and others. Just like the Osset, they have a protector of raiders (Eirig-ātsnykh) or Tšugurukhnykh) and one of smiths (Šyošu). The latter two, which are called upon very frequently, may be of a manistic type, derived from the belief in souls, as may be the protective spirit of the hearth (Aša‘ara), the mother-goddess (Anana‘a), and the "outer ones" (adnqa) (see p. 22). The Abkhaz attribute to the god of thunder (cf. p. 87) the same power and abilities as the Osset do to the holy Elias, but he is in part confused with the incomprehensible highest god (see p. 61) and is endowed with his abilities, and therefore also the shape of the local supreme god (Anybs-nykha-dudrūp‘š), whose home is supposed to be the 224 mountain Dudrūpsh at Lykhny. ---Hunters sacrifice a male goat [783] or a ram to the god of game (Ažvepša) before the hunt, which begins after the vintage [768] and lasts until about the new year, so that he will grant them the desired prey from his herds. He gives them, however, only those animals that he and his daughter have already eaten and that he has restored to life by wrapping [825] their bones in the skin after his meal. White animals are the herdsmen of Ažvepša and therefore must not be slain.

Evil souls, similar to the western European vampires, 776 tear the eyes, heart, liver, etc. out of the body and suck the milk from the cows. They have different powers and accordingly ride on frogs, mice, cats, or on foxes and wolves. Their chief (Roskipi) lives on the mountain Tabakona, where every year they must account for Mary's Assumption and must exhibit the plundered body-parts. For this reason the Abkhaz put up [788] crosses during fasts, carry lights on their heads, and on the previous night stay up and shoot and sing. The evil souls can at the same time stay among men and on the mountain Tabakona, since

A 776 [768 cont.]
only their secondary souls (ap·stštšada) wander about.

A [177] Beside their old gods, the Abkhaz worship Christ as the Holy Teacher, Mary, and St. George as the protector of the villages Lykhny (Anan-Lykhnykh), Lsā or Pitzunda (Ana-Lsānykh), [782] and Ylori (Tsminda-Giorgi), to whom a sheep is sacrificed every year, and a calf with notched ears is donated to the churches.

C 778 The Cherkess, like the mountain Georgians, had sacred groves and trees, where in former times the public gatherings were held, where raiders found refuge, and where the spoils of the hunt and war and sacrificial offerings were hung. Also individual springs and mountains, certain stone columns (cf. p. 63), and iron and stone crosses were supposed to have been considered sacred.

C 782 The sacerdotal duties are performed by selected older men; they lead the prayers and slaughter the sacrificial animals, sheep, lambs, goats, oxen, in the sacred groves before the cross, after having previously singed them on the neck with a pine-torch and poured millet-beer over them (cf. below in Section III, 1b: Cheremis [untranslated]). The head of the animal is hung up on a tree for the god, the priest receives the skin, and the meat C [796] is eaten by the believers, who entertain themselves on festival days with feasts, dancing, drinking, races, tournaments, and the like.

C 776 [769] The gods of the Cherkess are almost the same as those of the Abkhaz; they have a supreme being (T'ka) who reigns over the heavens; a god of the smiths (Tliebske), the protectors of agriculture (Yemikha, Skusikha, Naokhatkha); the guardian of the forests (Mezitkh, Mezetkha), who rides on a boar with golden bristles and whose daughters milk the does; the lord of the bees (Merissa or Merelme); three sisters who watch over domestic life, warriors in battle, and the traveler on his way; the god of the winds and waters (Seozeres), and others.

C 796 At the beginning of spring, a three-day celebration is held in honor of the last god, during which a dry pear-tree hung with garlands and other decorations, with a cheese at the top,

C [769 cont.]
796 and lighted with lamps, is set up in the house of an elder of the
C kin group. An animal is sacrificed in honor of the god, and after
[782] the feast the cheese is distributed among the participants as a magical remedy. Other festivals are celebrated: for the new year and for Easter, in March, when one first fasts, then slaughters an offering in the sacred grove, and enjoys himself by shooting at eggs, etc.; at the beginning of the harvest, when roasted unripe wheat with sour milk, and later other kinds of grain and fruit, are eaten as festive dishes; in October when the plants wither, etc.

A
796 The Abkhaz show their reverence for the gods and spirits at given occasions or on certain holidays by the sacrificial offer-
782 -ing of animals, milk, bread, and other things, and by prayers, which are often constructed with a wealth of words and are poetically exalted.

Thus, on New Year's Eve they kneel in prayer, sprinkling incense on a coal-pan, around a rectangular cheese-cake (suluguni)--this custom is called Kalinda, cf. the Kolinda of the Rumanians and others--and on New Year's Day the father of the house lays wheat bread with an egg baked in it on everyone's breast, and he directs the "heart-prayer" (gunykhwa) to God, that they may be protected from heart disease. On Christmas Day between the first crow of the cock and daybreak he begs that they be spared from stomach ailments; afterwards everyone eats a chicken and four small pieces of cheese-bread (kwakwari). The celebration of Šyošu is also held on New Year's Eve, especially by the smiths. Here the father of the house prays to him for health and protection against harm from their work tools, and he throws into the fire pieces of curd-cake and of the heart and liver from the sacrificial animals: a sheep or calf for the father of the house,
A a rooster for each member of the family [Familie].

733 Before driving the animals into the mountains and after
[782] driving them from there, the herdsmen sacrifice a ram in honor
C of the god of lightning (Ap'i, khakhikal = he who lives above,
[796] called Sible by the Cherkess) and pray that he spare them and
A their herds. When an animal is killed by lightning, [770] the
[231] owner calls out all the villagers; while singing and dancing

[770 cont.]

931 (atlar-tšoup‘), they lay the animal on a quickly erected, three-meter-high framework or in a tree. [782] The owner sacrifices an ox and prays to be spared in the future; then they eat the meat of the sacrificial animal, bread, and cheese, drink wine, and feast the entire day. 766 The Abkhaz proceed in the same way for a person struck by lightning, but no one may weep lest the god become angry (see p. 87).

789 During drought one also turns to Ap‘i to send rain; an ox is sacrificed, and at the feast songs of thanks and praise [782] (antšva-rysšva) are sung in alternating chant. In order to evoke rain magic similar to that customarily practiced among the Balkan peoples is used (cf. also p. 64). The girls from the village stricken with drought place a female doll embodying the drought on a donkey and lead it to the river; here they put the doll on a raft made of twigs and straw, ignite it, and allow it to drift. They pull the donkey by force through the water, and if he brays, there will be rain.

755 Various gods are called upon in case of illness. Ague, delirium, and the like accompanying serious illness are attributed [753] to the presence of the supreme god (Antsar mz) in the body of the sufferer. In order to cure him, they sing and dance about him and even force him to do the same; then they sacrifice bread [782] and a goat or sheep in the vicinity of the house, during which no woman may be present; an old man with a candle circles the sick person and pleads with the god to forgive him and deliver him. He also prays afterwards to Michael-Gabriel.

In case of fever they look for help from the "Mother of the Waters"; she lives, according to them, in a clear lake or [776] spring, is beautiful, has brown hair and laughing eyes, and likes to live for a while with a man, like the mermaids. An old woman touches the water with some object belonging to the feverish person and begs the goddess to release him if she has enthralled him. Then she ladles up a few drops of water on some alder-leaves and holds them over the fire in the house so that the fever may leave as quickly as the water on the leaves. Finally the old woman moves away quickly, with the wish that the fever, too,

[770 cont.]
755 might leave. As soon as the afflicted person is able, he himself goes to the water with a prayer-woman; there he kneels and [782] offers up a hen to the mother of the waters, a rooster to her husband, and a candle to each of them and to her female servant (Abza‘avabzatšav = benefactress, intercessor). The woman prays and strokes the sick person on the back for "deliverance" (azati).

If someone suffers from jaundice or debility, [771] the "irreproachable" elders lead him to the river, lay his clothing, silver articles, etc. on both banks, and make a bridge of twisted yarn over the river; the prayer-woman then circles the sick person with a doll and prays to the rainbow in the name of the Eliap‘ši, to the mother of the waters, and to her husband. She casts into the water pieces of the food that was brought along: [782] roasted chickens, tongue-shaped flat cakes, etc., and she allows the doll to float downstream in a gourd with a burning candle, while she prays that the goddess amuse herself with it rather than with the sick person. Finally she gives the latter "deliverance," and he may not look back on the way home (cf. p. 924 f. [untranslated]).

231 789 When rinderpest struck, the Kemirkehe used to dig a tunnel in a steep river-bank and in the middle of this a pit in which they fastened a black cat with a silver belt. They covered the pit with boards and earth, ignited a fire on top by rubbing two sticks together, and drove the cattle through the river and the tunnel, to the accompaniment of the priests' litany. Afterwards the cat was freed.

842 The above-mentioned threefold prayer at the water is aimed at fertility when one "leads to the water" a young woman 844 for the first time, during which an egg is thrown in, and, in the case of a woman in childbed, food for the infant.

787 [821] The Abkhaz read signs for future events, for a favorable or unfavorable outcome for undertakings, from the stars, from the form of the moon, from meeting certain animals or human beings, and also, in the manner of the Tatars, from the cracks in a sheep's shoulder-blade that has been cast into the fire (see Vol. II, p. 325).

A C [771 cont.]

627 Law. Blood vengeance is still practiced among the Cherkess (t'li'lvasa = blood price) and Abkhaz.

Formerly when a prince had struck down a peasant, his A C relatives could not avenge themselves on him, but rather on his [608] foster father (cf. p. 20). The wergild was measured in "souls" according to rank, and in spans according to the size of the body; the unit of value for this was one cow (cf. p. 747 [untranslated]). A "soul" of four spans was compensated for with 30 cows, a soul of five spans with 50 cows, of six spans with 70 cows; a peasant was reckoned at five souls, a nobleman at 15 souls, a prince at 25. The wergild consisted of cows, goats, sheep, and beehives; it was increased by one span if not paid on time. If the avenger was inclined to forgiveness, he confirmed it by kissing the breast of the guilty man's mother or wife (cf. above, p. 15).

C Among the Cherkess theft was expiated in the same way 685 as among the Khevsur. The thief had to return the stolen goods and thirty oxen as well to a nobleman, and to a prince he had to replace it ninefold.

A When there is a division of an Abkhaz kin group, the 592 father of the house and the mother receive half of the total pro- 428 perty; if the father is already dead, the mother receives the dowry [Mitgift] that has been brought in and [772] an equal portion from each son. The oldest son has a right of priority (ai'ab-šakhu) in division or inheritance, and likewise--as among the Osset--the youngest (eidzb-šakhu); the farm, among other things, falls to the latter, the rest being equally divided among C the other children, with the daughters receiving less. Among 593 the Cherkess the eldest son had to care for his unmarried sisters; for this he received the bride-money (see p. 16) when he had them marry.

A A peculiar oath of purgation is customary among the 782 Abkhaz; the accused strikes the anvil three times with the hammer in the smithy and says that the god of the smiths may smash his head if he is guilty. Or he goes [Fig. 452 appears here] between two loaded rifles three times and challenges the god to shoot him in the head if he is lying.

[772 cont.]

C 538 Art and play. The old traditions of the past and of the deeds of the Cherkess were preserved by the wandering minstrels (gegwako); they used to sing of them at feasts and festivals, whereas nowadays they present hardly anything but songs of congratulation and praise and comic songs. A 538 As far as is known, the folk literature of the Abkhaz is rich in religious and festive songs and prayer formulas, and probably also in heroic and other

A [534]

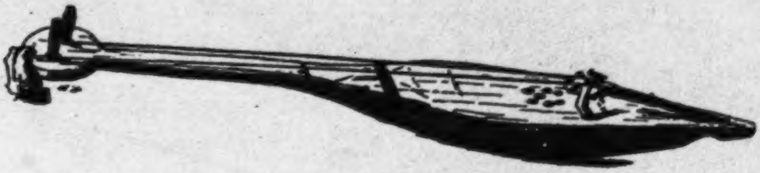

Fig. 452. Guitar with two strings, Abkhaz (1/7 natural size) (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg).

A 534 songs. As accompaniment to the singing, a two or three-stringed guitar is used (Abkhaz, ap'khirtsa, see Fig. 452) or the Mingrel lute (atšangur), the handle of which is sometimes carved or shaped in the form of a head. C 534 In addition, the Cherkess still use long flutes (tšebizga) of reed or metal, with three finger-holes, and triangular harps (pšine-duk-okyŏ), which also occur among the Swan; they are 20 to 70 centimeters wide and have 40-centimeter-long hair strings attached to the resonator and to pegs above.

A 535 The favorite dance among the Abkhaz is the "shoulder-dance," in which the young people hold each other by the hand, [773] turn around as they sing, and from time to time leap in the air. C 535 Among the Cherkess there were girls' dances (denyola), in which they hopped in one place, round dances of men and girls (uk) combined with singing, and wild war-dances (kofa) performed by a single fully-armed man.

A 526 The principal amusements of the men are contests of strength, stone-casting, ball-throwing, and the like. The Abkhaz used to fight duels with the sword, usually while sitting

[773 cont.]
A 516 on horseback, or they would arrange javelin battles in which, divided into two companies, they rode against one another, threw long, white sticks (džerid) at one another, and caught them in flight or picked them up from the ground (cf. p. 715 [untranslated]).

c) The Chechen and Lezgin

C 131 The territory of the Chechen takes in the forested northern slope of the mountain range that branches off from the main chain from Tebulos and Diklos toward the northeast and separates Chechnya from Dagestan, and the flatland lying in front up to the C 101 Terek. Their neighbors to the east are the Kymyk [Kumyk], to the north the Cossacks, to the west the Kabardin and Osset, to the south the Khevsur, Tush, and Lezgin. The western tribe, the Ingush, are partly cut off by a strip of Russian settlement between Vladikavkaz and Grosniy, as are the Chechen between Grosniy and Mozdok, who were settled on the Terek in 1866.

D 131 C 33 The Lezgin inhabit nearly treeless, barren Dagestan [774] (= mountain country), which extends southeast of the above-mentioned mountain range up to the Baba-dagh north of Shemakha, that is, the river districts of the Samur, the Ruba, and D 101 the upper Sulak. Their neighbors to the east on the Caspian coastal plain are the Azerbaijani, Tatars, and the Kymyk, to the northwest the Chechen, to the west the Tush, to the southwest the Kakhetian Georgians, to the south the Azerbaijani, Tatars, and the Tat. [Fig. 453 appears here.]

C 175 648 The Georgian, Persian, Armenian, and Arabic authors report nothing about the origin of these two linguistically, but not culturally, different peoples. It is known only that since the time of Genghis Khan Mongolian and Tatar legions have been continually oppressing the Chechen and have held them subject in part until their power was broken by the Russians. They them- C 173 selves give Nakhashé on the upper Argun as the tribal home of all the Chechen, and their name Nakhchuy comes from it. Popular legends speak of a man from the high Caucasus, of an Arab, and

[774 cont.]

C
173 others as their founder. It may in fact be assumed that many remained behind from the Georgian, Kuman, Khazar, Armenian, and other legions of the Tatar khans, but the influx of Arabs into

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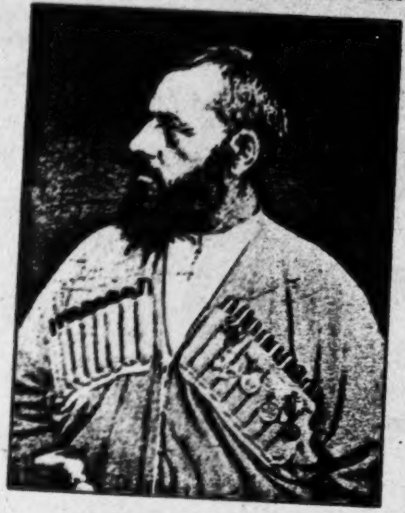

Fig. 453. Avar Man. (From Count J. Zichy.)

C
173 Dagestan and into Ichkeria and the frequent occurrence of the so-called Semitic or Jewish facial features (see pp. 661 [untranslated] and 98 f.) may also have contributed to the form of such legends.
D
173 The Lezgin Dargwa of Akusha and the Kazikumuk, for example, are said to have stemmed from Armenians, the Dido [Didol] from Georgians, the Avar from Syrians, and the Andi from Jews. Arabic
D
648 accounts found in Khunzakh and Kazikumuk relate that, about the year 800, Arabs from Shirvan and Shemakha had penetrated into Dagestan (Džab-h'arbi), had poisoned the Lezgin soldiers allied with the Russians (Varing ?), and installed Moslems everywhere as rulers, for example, a Kurešhit therefore called Kureš-kalě) in Kaitakh, but, strangely, a Russian in Tanus in Avaria. At that time Dagestan was divided into three parts: Kaitakh (Arabic Sarakh-Karan), Avaria, and the flat country (saglun). The Kazikumuk governors (šamkhal or vali) moved their residence to Tarku near

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

D 648 [774 cont.]
Petrovsk in the land of the Kymyk at the end of the sixteenth century, and therefore [775] the Kazikumuk chose their own dukes (khakhlavtsi) fifty years later, who even fought successfully against the Persians in the eighteenth century.

D 142 291

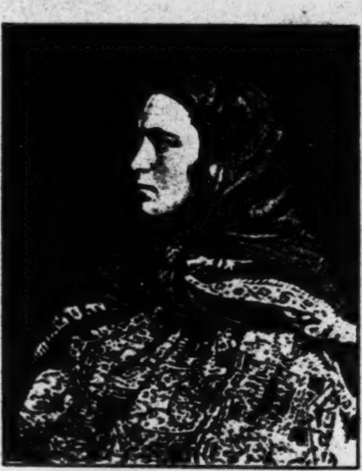

Fig. 454. Avar Woman. (From R. v. Erckert.)

C 101 Besides the tribes mentioned on pages 665 f. [untranslated], the following are distinguished among the Chechen: on the Psedukh, the Karabulak (emigrated for the most part to Turkey), on the Michik and Gums the Michiko (from which comes Mitsigys, used by the Kymyk for all Chechen, and Mitso-khidz = inhabitants of the millet-territories, used by the Dargwa for the Ichkeri, and further, Jerakh, Metzkhal, Tzori, Khamkhal, Nazran, and Galash as Ingush communities or families [Geschlechter]. [Fig. 454 appears here.]

C 142 The Chechen are for the most part tall, strong, and slender; the skull is short, the face broad to oval, the nose straight and prominent, the color of the eyes dark, and that of the hair brown, but blonds with blue and gray eyes frequently occur. In the north among the Michiko, one often finds Tatar

Chechen RI 5
Dagestan RH 8

C [775 cont.]

142 facial features, in the east among the Ichkeri and Akki, Near Eastern features with thick noses and Arabic features with thin, aquiline noses. C & D 181 As far as intellectual qualities are concerned, the Chechen and Lezgin are intelligent, persevering, self-confident, and easily provoked; the Ingush are said to be cruel, vindictive, and rapacious.

D 142 The Lezgin, too, are not a uniform race; in the east the Near Eastern facial type appears predominately, with thick aquiline nose, projecting jaw, thin moustache, and double beard. The Kurin of Akhty, like the Khevsur, have long, pointed noses with cut-out nostrils, short face, projecting chin, deepset eyes with thick brows, very light skin color, and thick, black hair. The principal characteristic of the Kurin otherwise is a striking narrowness of the face below the nose; in addition, Tatar features also occur. In general, the Lezgin are of medium height and strong; the skull is broad to medium-long, the nose prominent and thick, the eyes dark, and the hair brown to black (see Fig. 453).

C 291 Clothing. The dress of the Chechen (see Fig. 455) consists of a linen shirt, open under garment of cotton or silk with a collar, coat of yellow, gray, or brown cloth, belt, sheepskin cap, cloth trousers, leather leggings, and shoes (tševyak) of light leather or, for traveling, of thicker [776] [Fig. 455 appears here] buffalo leather, or climbing-shoes. C 302 The head is shaved bald, and only old men wear beards.

D 291 The Lezgin dress similarly, except that they usually look dirty and ragged. Over the shaggy overcoat, the burka, or in place of it, the Lezgin in the higher settlements wear a long sheepskin with a wide shaggy collar (see Pl. 30)[1] and, instead of the soft leather shoes, felt boots and shoes (see Fig. 469).

C 411 As weapons, the men usually carry only the dagger, and occasionally a saber, rifle, powder horn, bullet flask, etc. (see Fig. 460). A hundred years ago the Ingush still used wooden shields, covered with leather and ornamented with iron bands, and short lances with a jointed shaft, which, when inverted, also served to prop the flintlock rifle. [Fig. 456 appears here.]

[1] [See category 116, P.116-- Analyst]

2: Byhan--35 E-4 (no date) 192[illegible] RI3 Abkhaz
Chechen RI 5

[776]

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Fig. 455. Ingush of the Georgian Highway. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

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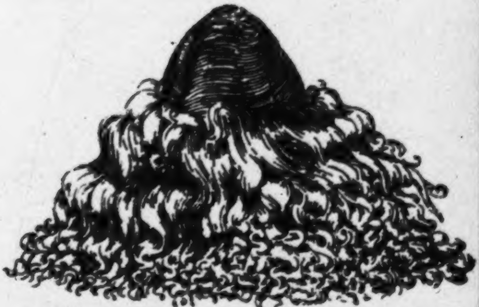

Fig. 456. Cap of black cloth, trimmed with goatskin and red leather, Chechen (1/6 natural size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

[776 cont.]

The principal constituents of female clothing are almost C D
everywhere the same as among the Tatar women: wide trousers 291
(formerly, as among the Abkhaz, blue, red, or white, see p. 5), C
shirt, blouse, and belt. The Chechen women adorn their red shirt 291
at the breast and shoulders with colored embroidery and [777] the

D
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516

Fig. 457. Kurin from Kurush on the Usun-chai, a southern tributary of the Samur. (From M. v. Dechy.)

C
seam of the trousers with a woven edging. They cut their hair 302
short in front; the girls braid it in back into many small braids,
the women into two braids, which they wrap heavily with ribbon. C
They cover the head with a cap that has coins or small metal 291
plates sewed on it or with a cloth; many put the hair in a kind of 301
bag (Fig. 533, No. 1 [in untranslated portion]). Their other
ornaments are large rings [Fig. 457 appears here] of metal or
glass, which are sewed on near the ears on the headscarf or on
a band laid over the head (see Fig. 461). In the summer they
go barefoot; in winter they wear felt boots, and then they also
put on fur coats.

[777 cont.]

291 The blouse of the Lezgin women is usually blue, the
shirt of various colors; in the Kurin lowland the shirt and blouse
are short, but the trousers are very full and baggy; the shoes are
[199] provided with high heels and pointed toes, indicating Persian
influence. Among the Andi, Dido, northern Avar, and
[301] Kazikumuk, large silver ear-hoops with a ball in the middle [778]
are widely distributed as ornaments and are fastened in the same
way as among the Chechen women. The uniformity of the
clothing is effectively relieved by the dissimilarity of the head
adornment. Over the forehead the Andi women wear a quilted
sickle-shaped, roll of cloth filled with cotton, from which a wide
strip of cloth goes over the back of the head and down to the
back. The Dido women cover their heads with a long, blue and
[Fig. 458 appears here] red striped hood, with pearls and coins,
and over the forehead silver trimming and many little E-shaped,
silver plates, sewed on it (see Fig. 461). Avar, Kazikumuk, and
Kurin women of Arakhkul have strings of coins over the forehead
under a simple headcloth, and on the breast a bib (cf. p. 883
[untranslated]) with gold and silver coins, polished buttons, and
the like sewed on it, and the Avar women at Zakataly have a
bucket-shaped headdress. The Dargwa women and others (see
Figs. 461 and 462) wind a white cloth around the neck and over
it wear a red or striped cloth which hangs far down in the back.
The Archin women wind a velvet, gold and silver embroidered
forehead-band under a headcloth [779] from which -- as in
Macedonia -- small chains hang down; they cut their hair short,
[302] the girls allowing it to grow only in front of the ears and on the
forehead. Besides these head ornaments and the above-mentioned
301 earrings, the following adornment occurs: among the Kazikumuk
women, a triangular neck-ornament (see Fig. 471), [Fig. 459
appears here] arm bands made of two or three twisted wires, in
Kubachi (Dargwa) arm bands set with turquoise and such, large
finger-rings with thick, oval stones, silver spangles on the breast
among the Kurin women of Borch, and everywhere, silver belts
in place of the usual woven ones.

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

D [779 cont.]

291 The usual footwear, especially in the higher villages, are knitted boots with thick soles (see Fig. 464) or felt ones (Fig. 469), although here and there women also wear pointed leather shoes.

C 361 Dwellings. In northern Chechnya there were no large villages (a'ûl) until the time of Russian rule; previously the Chechen lived in small hamlets or on isolated farms. The

D 142 291

Fig. 458. Young Avar Women, Zakataly District.
(Photo. A. Dirr.)

C 342 houses here and in the mountains have one or two floors, The are built of stone or wood in the usual manner (cf. p. 725 [untranslated]), C 712 and are whitewashed on the outside. The small villages of the Ingush and Kist are heavily fortified. 351 Every farm is surrounded by a high wall with small turrets on the four corners; C [171] inside there is a rectangular tower 20 to 25 meters high, [780] with a span or pyramidal roof, like that of the Khevsur. C 342 The lowest room, four to six meters square, serves as a stable, the upper floor serves the women as a kitchen and living-room, and the second floor, with a balcony, serves as the living quarters for the father of the house.

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

C [780 cont.]

343 574 Near the tower stands a one or two-story house of stone or mud bricks with one or two rooms which contain the best furnishings and are reserved for guests (see Fig. 510). [Fig. 460 appears here.]

D 361 In wildly rugged, barren, harsh Dagestan, the villages are clustered together more densely and lie terrace-like (Pl. 29) in sheltered places that are easily defended, as in the Macedonian and east Albanian mountain country. Also, the houses are built and furnished almost like the ones there.

D 142 309 291 411

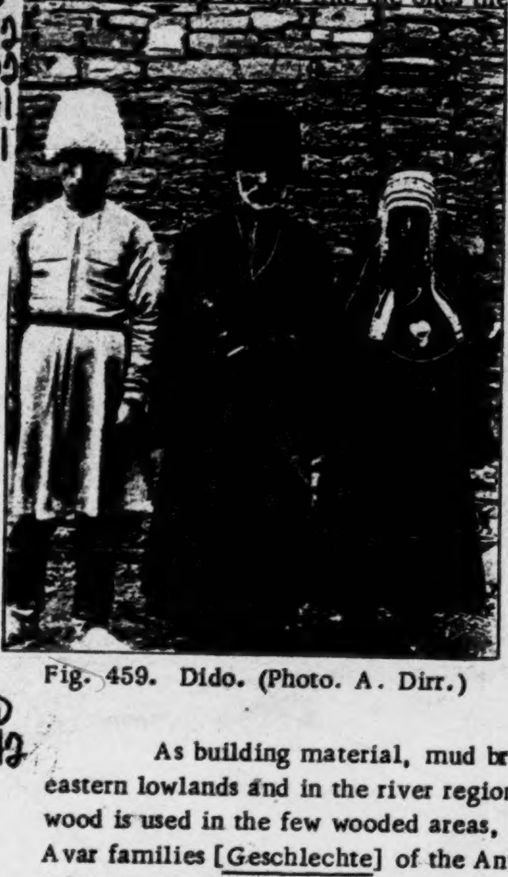

Fig. 459. Dido. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

D 342 As building material, mud bricks are used in the eastern lowlands and in the river region of the lower Samur, and wood is used in the few wooded areas, for example, among the Avar families [Geschlechte] of the Antrukh and among the Andi of Kuanada, but otherwise stone with coarse mortar is used everywhere. D 351 The houses seldom stand immediately on the narrow, steep lanes, but in a yard enclosed by a wall. Except for the yard-gate, no door or window openings lead to the outside; the latter are cut only in the inner front wall, like peepholes, and can be closed off with shutters or boards.

Chechen RI 5
Dagestan RH8

[780 cont.]

000 can be closed off with shutters or boards. Along the front side of D 342 the house (Pl. 28 and Fig. 483), above and below, is an open porch supported by wooden poles, to which there is sometimes attached a storeroom on either side of the upper floor. The roof is flat -- gabled roofs (see Fig. 465) occur only in the neighboring villages of the Zakataly district -- made of beams, poles,

C D 411 531

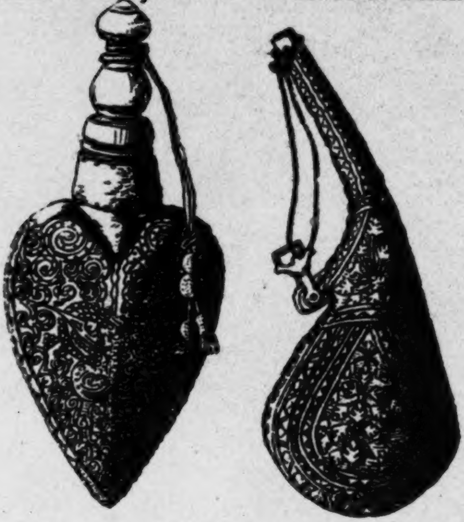

Fig. 460. Wooden powder-flask with brass mounting and leather bullet-flask (1/4 and 1/3 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

D 342 reed or cane, mud, and sand in layers pressed tight from time to time with a stone roller, and usually forms the front yard of D [361] the next house. For example, the Kazikumuk village Kubachi climbs up the slope in sixteen such terraces (cf. Pl. 28).

[781] The lower story is divided into stable and storage room. The upper story includes the living quarters for men and for women and the guest-room. The open fireplace with the D 354 [372] chimney hanging over it is at the wall and provides heat with 000 wood or dung bricks. The unboarded floor [Estrichfussboden] is

2: Byhan--41 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

D 352 [781 cont.] The unboarded floor [Estrichfussboden] is covered with rugs, [Fig. 461 appears here] and the walls, too, are sometimes hung with them; along the wall stand the plank-beds, clothes-chests, copper vessels, etc. Triangular stools (see Fig. D [516] 466), round armchairs, and carved benches (cf. p. 472 [untranslated]) are rare, for the people usually squat on the floor. Where

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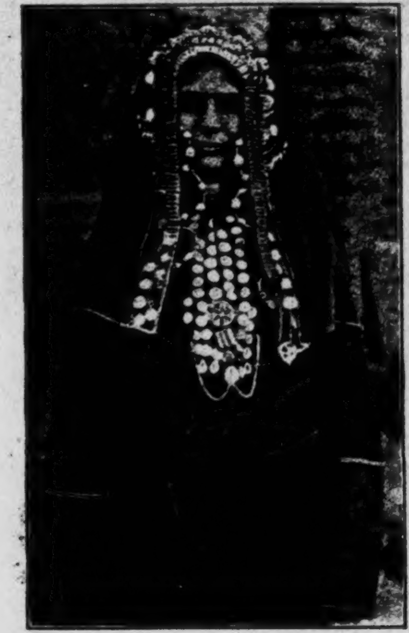

Fig. 461. Dido Woman. (From E.W.Pfizenmayer.)

D 342 there are special women's quarters, the windows are often fitted with beautifully-carved shutters in oriental style. In the guest- D 415 353 room, pitchers, bowls, plates, and cups of copper, china, porcelain, and glass are displayed on wall-shelves as showpieces, and weapons, cloth, and rugs are hung on the walls. For illumina- D 354 tion, resinous pine-chips, iron lamps, and oil lamps similar in form to the old Babylonian-Near Eastern lamps are used (see Fig. 470). In the partly paved yards there are summer kitchens D 351 343 or fireplaces, granaries, and the like, the latter often placed on the roofs, as among the mountain Georgians and similarly in The Andi village Kuanada.

[781 cont.]
000 the Andi village Kuanada.

C Economy. The Chechen obtain their livelihood primarily
233 from the raising of sheep, cattle, buffalo, and horses (a
hundred years ago they also still had swine); since the climate
is harsh, many of them allow their sheep herds to graze in the
alpine pastures only during the three summer months, and at other
times in the Terek plain. Formerly, the well-to-do used to
farm out their stock for the payment of [782] a certain number
C of lambs, calves, and foals. Agriculture in the mountains,
241 where every suitable spot is used for laying out terraces, is not
very productive, and the grain, barley, oats, and wheat, often
does not ripen. There is, of course, enough land available in
the lowlands, but even so, the Chechen [Fig. 462 appears here]
C. do not give up their preference for animal husbandry. Grain is
256 ground in the usual water-mills with a horizontal wheel; in
place of the feedbox, a bark funnel hangs on four willow cords
over the upper stone, and this pushes against a stick fastened to
the funnel, which opens the closure of the funnel from time to
time. A pointed stone on the shaft turns in the socket of another
D stone and acts as a pivot (see Fig. 414 [in untranslated portion]).

233 Animal husbandry (sheep, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys,
and buffalo) predominates also in Dagestan, and, as in
Chechnya, the herds remain in the high pastures only through
the summer, while the men, often accompanied by women and
D children, spend the rest of the year with them in the Caspian
[342] coastal lands or in the southern steppes, where they dwell in
simple reed huts.

D In the east and south, among the Kurin and Dargwa,
241 the nature of the soil is more favorable for agriculture than in
the west, in inner Dagestan, where the terraced, often tiny
fields are fenced in with stone walls, as in Karst (see p. 241
D [untranslated]), and, where feasible, are irrigated artificially.
433 The yield, however, is not sufficient to feed [783] the inhabitants,
and so grain and flour must be imported from the
000 lowlands. The grain (wheat, millet, and barley) is cut with

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

D
243 [783 cont.] the grain (wheat, millet, and barley) is cut with a sickle and threshed with a threshing-board (see p. 687 [untranslated]); in the winter the Andi use artificial ice surfaces as a threshing-floor, [Fig. 463 appears here] which they produce by pouring out water.

D
22 Fishing (trout) and hunting, which is still practiced occastionally with falcons by the Avar to catch hares, pheasants, and

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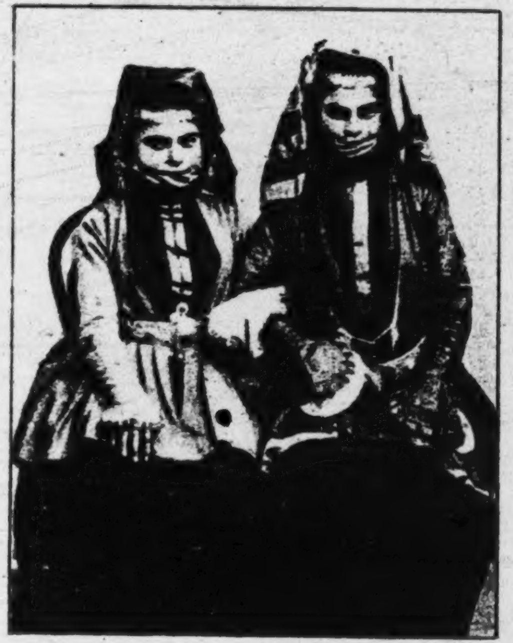

Fig. 462. Uden Women. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

D
22
[231] partridges, do not play an important role economically, and the Avar and Kurin seem to keep bees only in more favorable locations.

C
262 The food of the Chechen is the usual: flat cakes of millet, maize, or barley flour, milk, cheese, onions, herbs, occasionally wheat bread, meat, eggs, and, in summer, fruit, which grows abundantly.

C
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272
[117] Formerly, much black beer was drunk, but under Russian influence tea-drinking and the samovar have had a wide distribution.

[783 cont.]

262 The Lezgin live just as simply: during the day, on black bread of barley flour and horse-bean meal, cheese, onions, and the like. The main dish at a common meal is a kind of noodles (khinkal) cut from unleavened barley, millet, maize, or

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Fig. 463. Woman and Children from Archi on the Khatar, the eastern source of the Kara-Koisu. (From M. v. Dechy.)

262 [263] bean meal, then cooked, and, after pouring off the water, [784] served with whey or vinegar, garlic, and salted cheese. Bread is baked in a baking-pit, a mud-lined pit that is heated with 252 glowing coals, loaded, and then sealed with a lid (forerunner of the Georgian oven, see p. 685 [untranslated]). In winter much 262 wind-dried mutton is eaten in the villages whose herds graze 251 in the flatlands.

[784 cont.]

D in the flatlands. The usual beverages are milk and water, and at
273 feasts, when there are also thin wheat-cakes, pilau, meat dishes,
272 sweets, for example, pekmez, that is, grape-juice mixed and
[271] [261] dried with clay, and other things, spirits, cider or cooked wine,
C and rarely beer are drunk.

D Industry. Work is assigned to men and women according
462 to the rules of tradition (adat). The former must attend to the
heavy work: building houses, felling and chopping trees, tending the animals, slaughtering, shearing sheep, plowing, mowing
grass, threshing, etc. The women must take care of the household and children, do the milking, make dung cakes, clean the
C D wool, cut the grain, and fetch water in wooden cylinders (about
415 30 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high, see Fig.
480)[1] or in beautifully shaped copper jugs (see Fig. 412, No. 9
[in untranslated portion]).

D 462 The products of the women's domestic work in Dagestan
291 are: embroidery with gold and silver threads on velvet, silk,
[531] and leather; saddlebags and clothes-sacks of carpet-cloth (palas);
[494] rough grain and flour sacks of goat-hair; woolen stocking-shoes
[415] with thick soles; cords and ribbons of wool or goat-hair; saddle-
[287] pads and boots of felt or coarse wool; woven and knotted rugs
[286] of sheep wool and goat-hair -- long-haired ones especially among
[352] the Tsakhur; sleeveless overcoats of coarse wool among the
Andi; fine and coarse, so-called Lezgin cloth of goat, sheep,
C and camel wool among the Andi, north Avar, northern Lak,
280 and Dargwa. The Chechen women also produce rugs, felt
352 blankets, and thin materials for clothing (tsoka).

C There are practically no handworkers among the Chechen,
D but on the other hand, they are as well represented and indigenous
463 in Dagestan as in Georgia as a result of Persian and Tatar influ-
D [177] ence. They migrate from time to time from the unproductive
D regions to Caucasian and Russian cities in order to work there;
[167] from the Andi district, masons, stonemasons, carpenters, and
locksmiths; from the Kazikumuk region, where there is no
fruit or grapes and almost no arable land, silversmiths and
coppersmiths, armorers, and tinkers. [Pl. 28 and 29 appear here.]

[1] [See category 116, p. 69-- Analyst]

2: Byhan--46 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8

[784]

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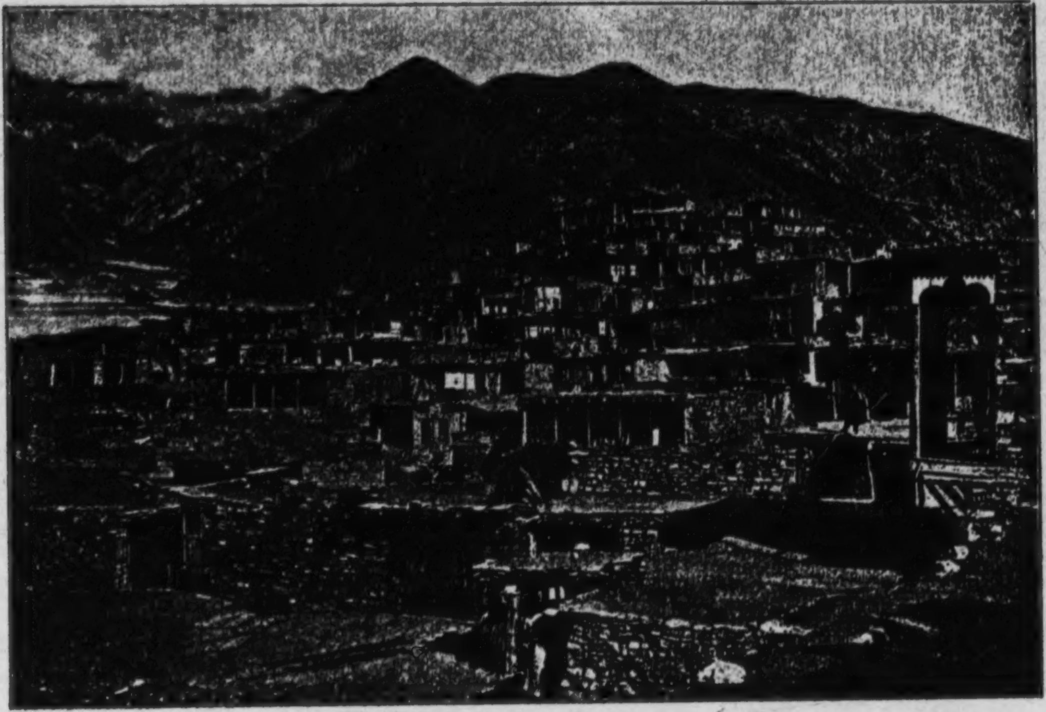

Pl. 28. Ikhrek, Rutul village in the valley of the Kara-Samur. (From M. v. Déchy.)

2: Byhan--47 E-4 (no date) 1926

RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8

[784]

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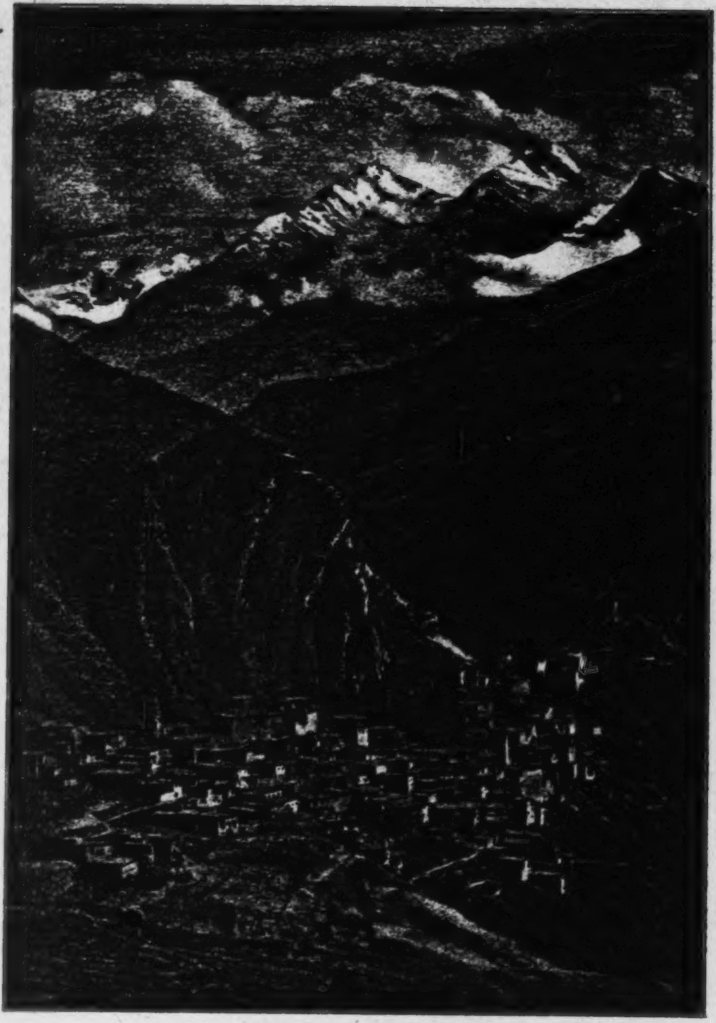

Pl. 29. Tindi on the Kilia-Bakh, an eastern tributary of the Andi Koisu. (From M. v. Déchy.)

2· Byhan--48 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Dagestan RH 8

463 [785] As small industries, millstones and gravestones (see Fig. 492) are produced in the Kurin district; among the Dargwa, sieves, sacks, ropes, and hemp materials; in a few Dargwa and Kurin villages, pottery (Fig. 467, No. 4, and Fig. 470); and in the north Avar district of Gunib, carpentry, cabinet-making, and the production of saddle-stands [Sattelgestellen]. In several places among the Dargwa, Avar, Andi, and Kurin, the carving of spoons, spoon-stands, and containers for flour, salt, and other things (Fig. 467, Nos. 5 and 6) is an occupation. [Fig. 464 appears here.] Musical instruments are made in the Kaitakh (Dargwa) [531] region, and wooden implements with inlaid brass and nickel wire in north Avaria. Tanning, shoemaking, and the furrier's trade are found in the Avar district of Gunib, among the Dargwa, Lak, and Kurin. Coppersmiths (Fig. 467, Nos. 1-3) and tinsmiths are found mainly among the Lak and sporadically in the Gunib and Andi districts; blacksmiths among the Dargwa, in the Gunib district, among the Lak, and among the eastern Kurin.

326 Goldsmiths and silversmiths are found in many places, but the major center for this industry is the district of Kaitago-Tabassaran. Here they make belts, belt-buckles, rings, cigarette-holders, cane-handles, mountings for daggers, sabers, and [321] pistols, ornaments, inlaid work in horn, ivory, mother-of-pearl, [439] and steel, enamel work, and so forth, which are also exported to Russia. The armorers of Kubachi (Tatar, Kubadži; Arabic, Sarakh-Karan = armorer; native name, Augwugan, Ūgbuk, from the Armenian name of the old Albanians, Aγovan), who are mentioned as early as the sixteenth century A.D., formerly enjoyed great esteem, and even today, blades and rifles are still produced there and in some other villages of the Dargwa, Lak, and Avar, but since the end of the internal feuds and the battles against the Russians, [786] [Fig. 465 appears here] this industry has fallen off considerably. Blades (see Figs. 449, 451)[1] [439] used to be exported in great number to Russia, and Lezgin gun-barrels were supposed to have been better than the Russian ones, although old iron was used for both, and old horseshoes were preferred for dagger-blades. [Fig. 466 appears here.]

[1] [See category 116, pp. 11 & 14--analyst]

2: Byhan--49 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

Dagestan RH1

[785]

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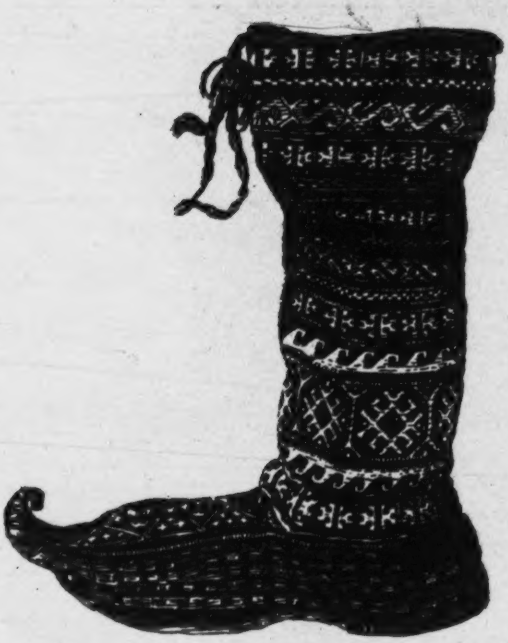

Fig. 464. Knitted boot of bright, predominately white, black, and cherry-red wool, village of Beshita of the Kapuchi on the Khwan-or, western tributary of the Avar Koisu (1/4 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

2: Byhan--50 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz Dagestan RH 8

[786]

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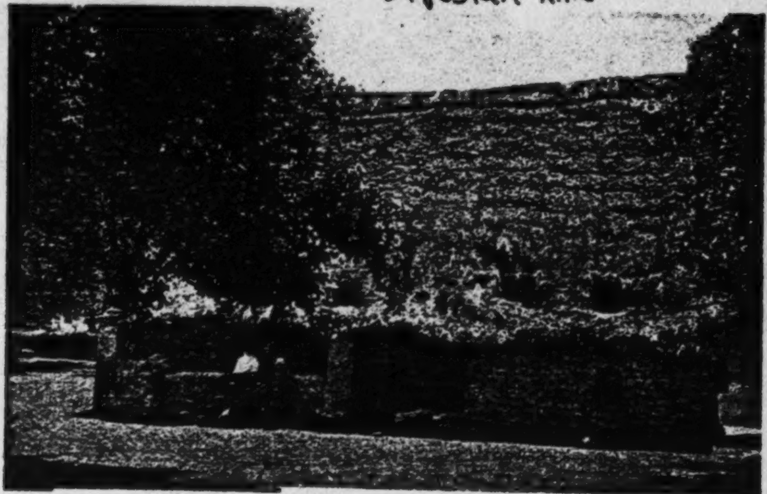

Fig. 465. Avar House Zakataly District. (Photo A. Dirr.)

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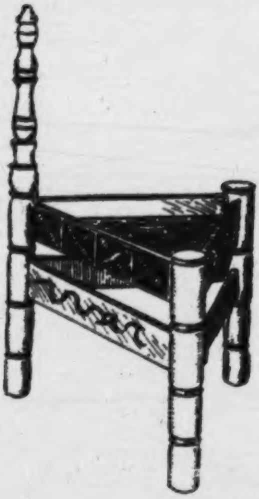

Fig. 466. Lezgin Stool (1/17 natural size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

Dagestan RH8
Chechen RI5

[786 cont.]

D 326 The discovery of several old European blades from Hungary, Solingen, etc., which the master-crafts men formerly obtained from somewhere, since weapons, as is well known, have traveled, have been carried from place to place, and have been worked over throughout the Orient from Indonesia to Morocco, probably gave rise to the legend that the first armorers came here from Europe (Frangistan) via Turkey, although the whole style of
D work and the type of decoration indicate a Persian-Tatar origin,
172 and the ruins of old buildings and objects adorned with sculptured
174 work, which have been found there or preserved there as old heirlooms, also speak for such an origin.

S D 133 487 Trade. The transportation of goods in this eastern part of the Caucasus is very difficult because of the fissuring and ruggedness of the valley walls. Most of the places in the high mountains can be reached [787] [Fig. 467 appears here] only on narrow mule-tracks, which often, when the river leaves no room, lead high up along steep rock walls, as in Albania; where the rock wall falls off vertically, pegs are pounded in and underbrush and stones laid on top.

S D 491 Besides isolated, old Persian-Tatar stone bridges in east Dagestan, two kinds of wooden bridge occur: narrow bridges of two or three planks, horizontal in the middle and steeply sloping on either side, with or without railings of thin poles, and usable only by horsemen or pedestrians; and bridges whose supporting piles on the bank are beams piled up crosswise, and [788] [Fig. 468 appears here] whose pathway consists of flooring-beams shoved out one over the other a little bit at a time from both sides until the middle of the stream is almost reached, and the remaining space can be closed up by a single layer.

S D 493 [494] [789] [Fig. 469 appears here.] Wagons and men are transported on the mule-tracks by horse; in the lowlands, two-wheeled wagons (see Figs. 418 [in untranslated portion], 504) drawn by oxen and buffalo travel on the passable roads and are equipped with lattice-work sides and a sun-shade; the driver stands on the thill-piece. Because of the scarcity of bridges, the wheels are

[Text continues top of p. 55--Analyst]

2: Byhan--52 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

[787]

Chechen RI5

Dagestan RH8

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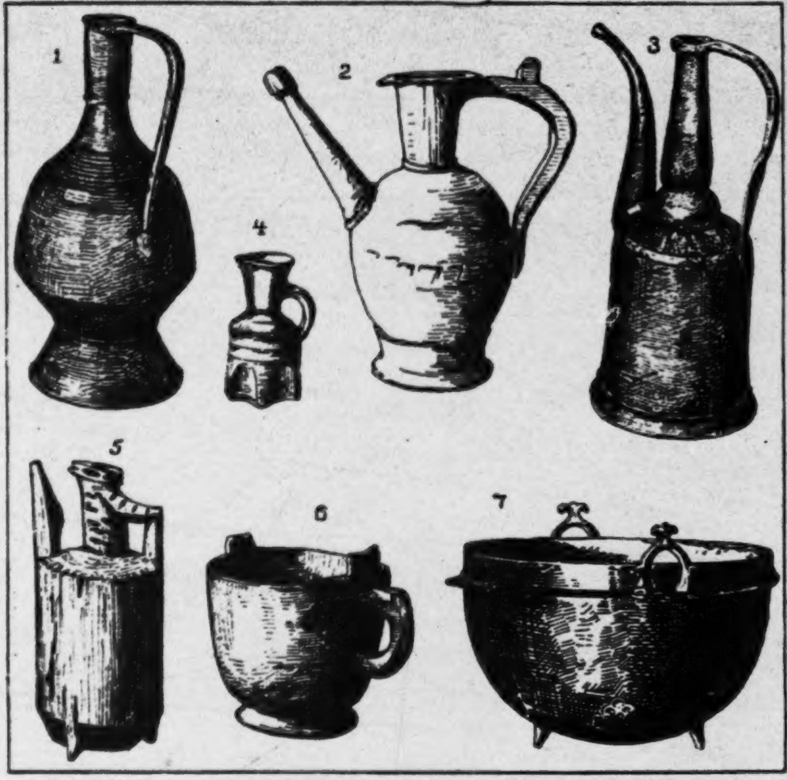

Fig. 467. 1 to 3, copper water-jugs; 4, clay jug; 5, water-jug wrought from a single piece, with burned decorations; 6, wooden cup for sour milk; 7, cauldron with three feet; 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, Lezgin; 3, Kazikumuk; 6, Chechen (1, 3, 1/9 nat. size; 4, 1/6 nat. size; 2, 5 to 7, 1/7 nat. size). (1, 3, 5, 6, Museum für Võlkerkunde Berlin; 2, Museum für Võlkerkunde, Hamburg; 4 and 7, from Count J. Zichy.)

2: Byhan--53 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

Dagestan RH 8
Caucasia RH 1

[788]

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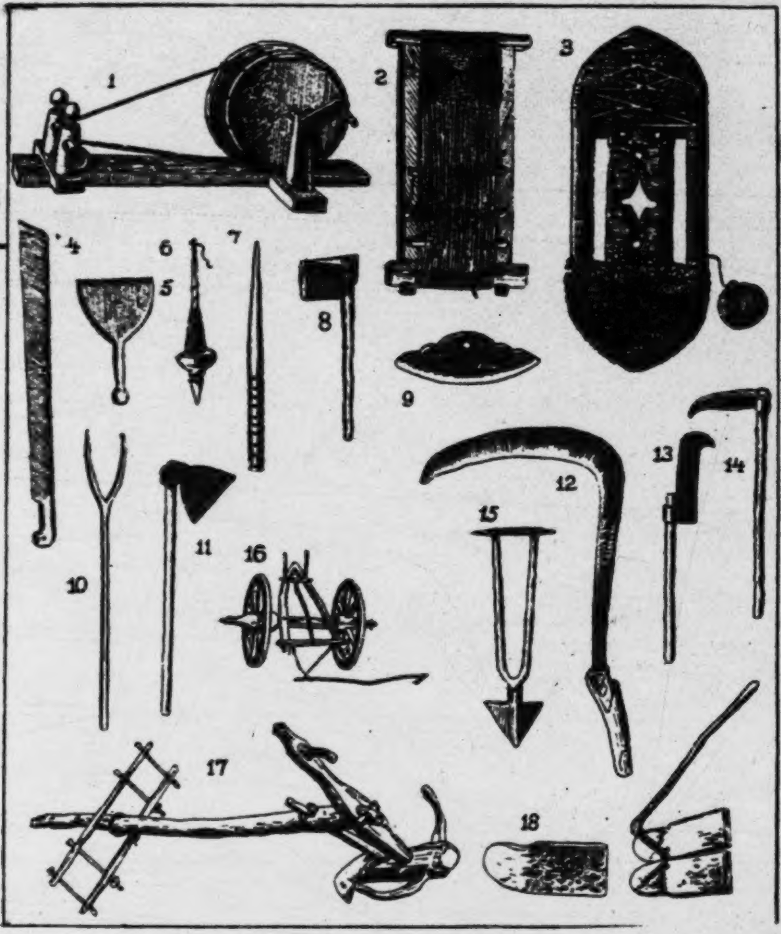

Fig. 468. Implements of Caucasian industry: 1, spinning wheel; 2, ribbon loom; 3, knitting board for stockings; 4, wooden sword for flax-scutching; 5, hemp-ripple of wood with iron teeth; 6, wooden spindle; 7, yarn-spool; 8, ax; 9, cloth-cutter; 10, pitchfork; 11, mattock; 12, sickle; 13, pruning-bill for chopping off twigs; 14, brush-cutter; 15, iron spade with forked handle; 16, wagon frame; 17, plow with iron share and yoke; 18, threshing board, underside set with stone splinters; 1 to 3, Lezgin; 8, Zakataly Avar (2, 1/5 nat. size; 3, 1/3 nat. size; 4, 1/18 nat. size; 6, 7, and 12, 1/6 nat. size). (From Count J. Zichy.)

Daqestan RH8

[789 cont.]

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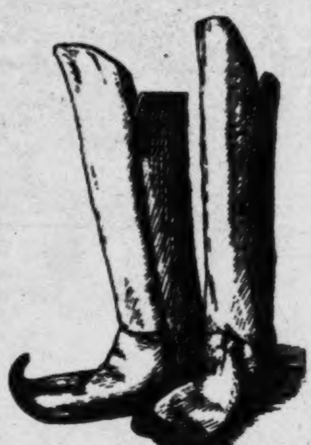

Fig. 469. Man's boots of felt, Kazikumuk (1/10 natural size). (Museum für Võlkerkunde, Berlin.)

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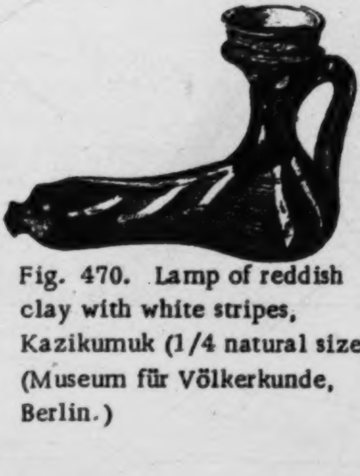

Fig. 470. Lamp of reddish clay with white stripes, Kazikumuk (1/4 natural size). (Museum für Võlkerkunde, Berlin.)

2: Byhan-55 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Chechen RI 5
Dagestan RH 8

S [789 cont.]
D
493 very high and have many spokes; the fellies consist of several
S pieces (in Russia of one) and are usually wide.
D
565 Society and family. There are no differences of rank among
either the Chechen or the Lezgin. They formerly had war-prisoners
567 as slaves, who could become citizens, however, by marriage or
C emancipation. The Chechen people (nakhtše) are divided into
619 tribes of societies (taipa), and these into villages (a'ûl) whose
621 inhabitants carry the same family-name, therefore are from one
C kin-group [Sippe]. The elders make the decisions in the com-
623 munity and the family [Familie], but they are guided by tradi-
594 tion (adat) and religious law (šariat). They are treated with re-
C spect by all, and similarly in the family on the part of the chil-
762 dren toward the father, whose anger may even drive a son to
S suicide. [Fig. 470 appears here.]
D Marriage, too, is concluded according to the prescriptions
583 of the law, but few of the old customs concerning it have been
584 preserved. Usually a man takes only one wife and pays a small
[178] purchase-price after his suit has been accepted by the girl and her
father. Among the Avar every girl has the right to take a man of
her choice; she goes to his house, and he must then marry her.
Among the Andi the abduction of girls does occur, but only rarely
D now.
585 [790] Among the Dido a peculiar custom survives: two
friends of the groom go to the bride's house, throw a sheepskin over
her head, and pull her out into the street on it, where she is
pelted with dirt by the people as far as the groom's house. A
marriage custom among the Andi of Tindi is more easily understood: the bride, accompanied by women and armed men
carrying torches on long poles, rides toward the groom, who
comes with a similar retinue. A mock battle starts where the
two companies meet; they try to take prisoners and [Fig. 471
appears here] shoot out one another's torches. During this the
bride is given over by her friends to the women relatives of the
groom, who lead her to the groom's house; the latter comes soon
afterwards with two friends as guards (compare p. 17) and must
fight a furious battle with the one he has married.

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

D [790 cont.]
582 The Dido are said to have formerly married blood-relatives
584 and to have had the same custom as the Great Russians, which
595 still exists among the Kurin of Kurush: the father married his
[851] under-aged son to an adult girl, with whom he himself then lived;
the children then fell half to the father and half to the son after
C he had come of age. In former times among the Ingush, after
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595

D
[301]
[531]

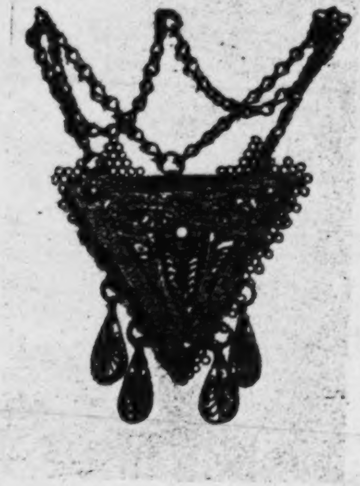

Fig. 471. Silver breast-ornament with filigree work, Lezgin (1/4 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

the father's death the eldest son used to take over the wives of
C the former, except his own mother.
D
562 The woman does not wear any veil, is well treated, and
583 enjoys complete freedom in her own realm; she has control
428 over her dowry and can inherit and bequeath. Divorce is very
586 easy; the man tells her to leave, or the woman flees to her
parents. The Avar women are very excitable and allow them-
D selves to be so carried away as to murder an unfaithful husband,
837 and, on the other hand, a man will kill a guilty wife with his
dagger. Abduction is expiated with blood (cf. p. 717 [untranslated]), though the man often consents to peaceful settlement.

2: Byhan--57 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

[790 cont.]

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531

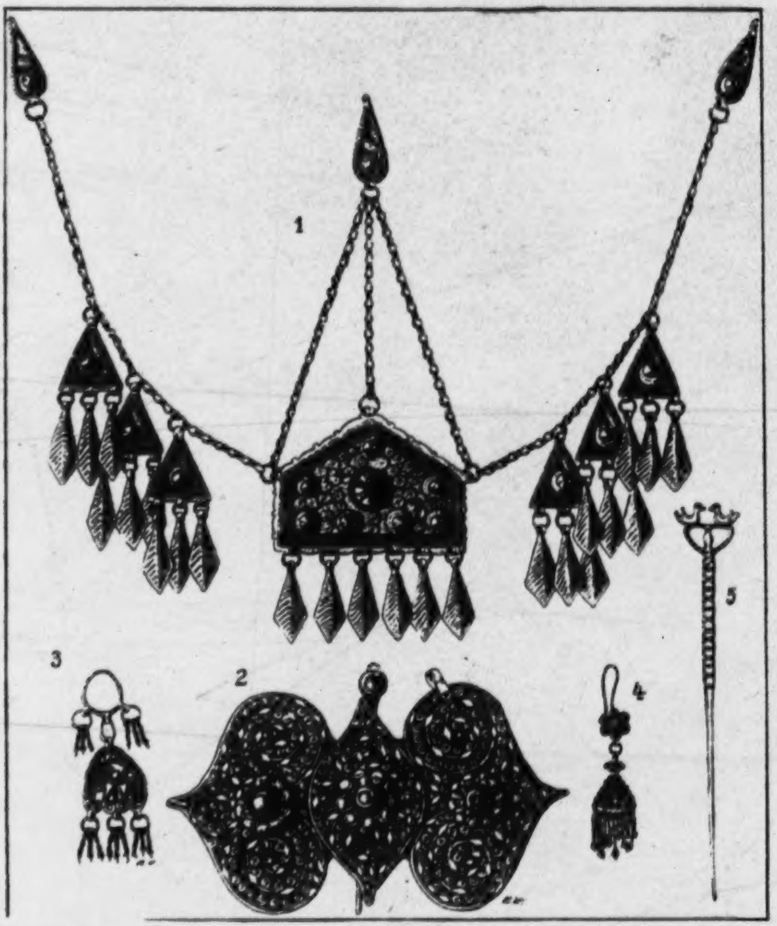

Fig. 472. Lezgin silver ornaments: 1, breast pendants from Botlikh; 2, belt-buckle; 3 and 4, ear pendants; 5, hairpin (1/3 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

D
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C
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The children are often suckled a long time, until the fifth and sixth year. The first names of the Chechen have not yet been supplanted by Moslem names, and masculine ones are mostly derived from the animal world, such as Wolf (bors), Bear (cheburs), Hare (pagal), Eagle (ersu), Falcon (leg), Dove (khokši), Dog (poe), Pig (khaka); feminine names are Flower (dziezok), Angel (maleika), [791] [Fig. 472 appears here] Calf-rider (azir-vakhara), Rider on a Female Dog (osiali-vakhara).

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RI8

C [791 cont.]
764 Death. Burials are now conducted according to Moslem
D custom. The Chechen used to put three pieces of bread and
[769] spirits to drink into the grave with the deceased, who was buried
fully dressed and armed; his horse was taken to the grave for
C exactly the same procedure as among the Cherkess (see p. 22),
765 [792] and the women mourned there a week. The day after the
interment the "funeral memorial ceremony" took place, at which
all the relatives and friends were entertained; the food eaten by
them, according to their belief, was for the benefit of the de-
C ceased. Later the "bed memorial ceremony" was held, after
[775] which the departed could leave his bed in the next world; [Fig.
[526] 473 appears here] it was accompanied by shooting-matches and
races, and four of the horses were dedicated to him and to his
C ancestors. After two years the "great memorial ceremony" was
587 held, and after the fourth year the widow could lay aside her
mourning and marry again. She was still considered the prop-
erty of the deceased, and his people claimed her body after her
C death in order to bury her next to his grave. No memorial cere-
765 monies were customary for women and girls.

C Gravestones (cf. Fig. 492) are erected on the graves, which
D are lined with stone slabs and boards. Graves of fighters for the
764 creed are sacred and are marked by a wooden lance planted up-
[778] right nearby and bearing a white or red pennon (cf. Vol. II, 1, Fig. 244); usually a little house or domed structure rises over them. The Ingush and Lak customarily pile up stones in the form of a box on the graves in the ancient manner and place a stone as tall as a man on top. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the dead were buried in conical or hut-shaped grave-structures (kaša) with a floor-area of 4 X 4 meters and a height of 8-10 meters, with two or three rows of peepholes; the body was laid inside on the stone wall-benches and food and all sorts of implements were put in with it (cf. pp. 738 f. [untranslated] and Fig. 494). Besides these kin-group mausoleums, one also finds in many places in Chechnya some [793] with a vestibule and domed roof, which seem to be of the above-mentioned western Osset type, and, in the mountains, subterranean ones, which may be earlier in origin.

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

C
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[793 cont.]

Religion. Islam had already secured a firm hold in Dagestan by the end of the eighth century, but in Chechnya, where Christianity was supposed to have been introduced from Georgia in the fourth century, [Fig. 474 appears here] although Islam also penetrated there, it soon disappeared.

C
[714]

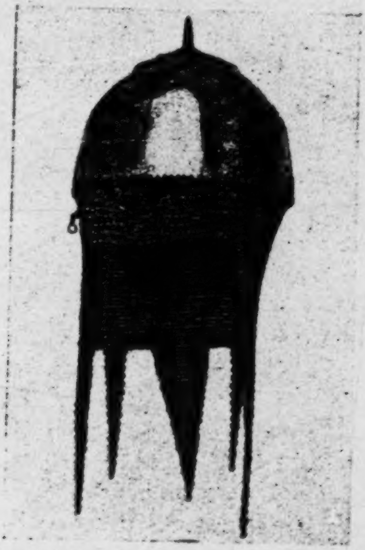

Fig. 473. Helmet, Chechen.
(Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

It was not until the eighteenth century that the Chechen took it up again from the Kymyk and Kabardin, and in the nineteenth century, together with the neighboring Lezgin, they were zealous allies of the religious champions Kazi-Mullah and Shamyl against the Russians (up to 1859).

C
795

Two dervish orders (tarikat, cf. Vol. II, 1, p. 394) have found adherents among them, the Nakshubendi and the Kunta sects, founded in the sixties by the Mullah Kunta-Khaji. They wear the prayer-cord, the rosary, around their necks, embrace one another, pray aloud (šikra), form a chain at their services, [794] clap their hands, repeat constantly, faster and faster, "la illakhä il allakh" (= there is no god but Allah), and whirl in circles like the Mehlevi, until they fall unconscious.

Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

[794 cont.]

000 in circles like the Mehlevi, until they fall unconscious.

C
8 The mosques (mā 'ābed) in Dagestan resemble the Persian
346 ones. In Chechnya they are not distinguished from ordinary
793 houses and have no minarets; the priest (budun = crier) calls the
people to prayer from the roof or in front of the mosque.

D
764

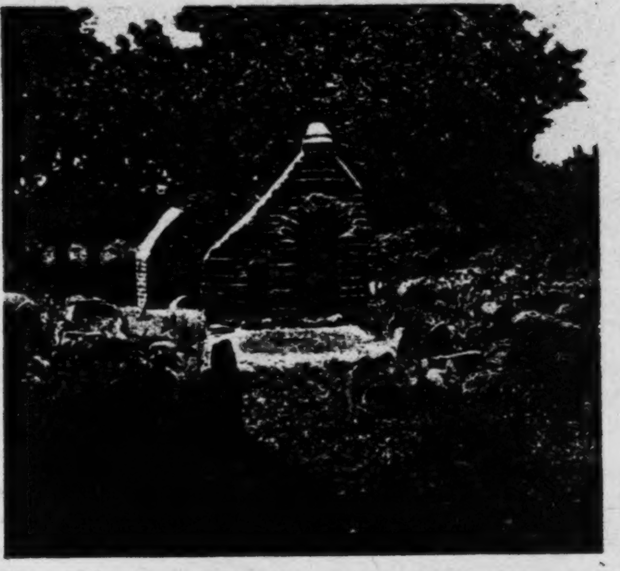

Fig. 474. Avar Grave-houses, Zakataly District.
(Photo. A. Dirr.)

C
8
788 The Lezgin and Chechen observe the outward prescriptions of
Islam faithfully; they wash and bathe themselves five times daily,
give alms, and make pilgrimages to Mecca in order to return as
D "khaji [hadji]. The Avar, in the absence of a mosque, give the
[778] prayers on stone structures (of 2 × 3 by one meter in height) near
a spring or a river. They make pilgrimages to the graves of holy
men (pir-kend); for example, Kurin and Uden women go to the
D grave of Suleiman in Liga, probably to plead for a blessing of children.

771 Only a few are Christians, such as the Uden, of whom those
living in Nish are Armenian-Gregorian, and those in Vartashen are
C orthodox. Remains of old churches are not found in Dagestan, but
346 are found in fairly large numbers in Chechnya. The best preserved
D
[346]

2: Byhan--61 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Chechen RI5
Dagestan RH8

[794 cont.]
C 346 is the Tkhaba-erda (= the saint of the 2000) near Pui in the Assa
valley, which is about 15 meters long and decorated with a
columned vestibule and sculptured work that are not Georgian in
C 788 type. A hundred years ago the Ingush still made pilgrimages
[782] there every year and sacrificed animals, which an old priest
[793] (tsain zag) slaughtered; the brains and bones were brought into
the church after the feast. In June they traveled to a high cave
C in the Assa valley near the village Vapila, in which there was
[796] an iron cross; on Pentecost and on New Year's Day, which falls
[782] three days earlier than the Christian day, they went up into the
[776] mountains in order to make offerings of rifles, bullets, and
candles to St. Galaerd in an old church in the Mechal district.
C 778 Also in the country of the Kist there are sacred places consecrated
776 to St. George and Holy Mary (cf. p. 744 [untranslated]). The
C Chechen week is also of Christian origin, beginning with Sunday
805 (khkyrude, from Greek kyrios = lord); the other days are designated as first day, second day, etc., and Saturday is called
ša 'at (= Sabbath).

C D 771 Among the Lezgin there seem to be scarcely any remains
of their pre-Islamic religion, and among the Chechen, too,
C [795] the traditions about the gods and their cult are dying out
D with the older people. They always directed their prayers and
776 offerings, even when they were intended for other gods and
[783] spirits, to the creator of the world, the father of the gods (Dele,
Dala). An important role was played by: the god of thunder
(Seli), whose daughter (Seli Sata) was the protectress of virgins;
C the sun-goddess (Dela Molkh), with her mother, Aza, toward
D whose place of rising the people faced while praying and toward
[782] which the praying-places were turned, while the moon and the
stars were given less attention; the "mother of the storms"
(Dardsa-năriik) enthroned on the Kazbek, whose seven sons
(Dardsa-kuangish) flew to heaven, where they are still to be
seen (the Big Dipper); and the one-eyed lord of the forests
and the wild animals (Elta), whom the Lezgin still know under
the Arabic name Abdal (= servant of God). Other nature-divinities

C D [795 cont.]
776 were: the "mother of the waters" (Khi-nana); the protector of
the grain and of the beer and spirits produced from it (Meler-
C D erda); and the war-god (Molzy-erda). The nature of several
[778] other gods who enjoyed general veneration, to whom holy places
(elgyts) or old churches were consecrated and sacrifices of ani-
[780] mals, bread, beer, spirits, candles, gold, and valuable objects
were offered, such as Tushol, who is worshiped especially by
women, Misr, Amgali-erda on the mountain Artz-Khoi, Tamysh-
erda on the "Red Mountain" (Ingush: budur lam) near the village
Khuli, and Mätseli on the Mätty, is no longer clear. Certain
C D details indicate that they were dispensers of fertility, but worship
[769] of them was clearly mixed up with the ancestor cult and re-
mained fixed also on the churches that had been erected in place
[779] of heathen prayer-grounds at the time of the greatest expansion
C of the Georgian Empire and of Christianity in Chechnya.

D Ancestor worship remained alive to the last, and each kin
[769] group [Sippe], with the villages, districts, and tribes that had
grown out of it, had its own special protective spirits (erda;
C Ingush, tsu). The Chechen believed that the actual soul of a
775 person, his "nature" (taram), lived on after his death in the
[761] same way as before, while the vital energy died with the body;
the former wandered to the west under the earth to the next
world (Deli-Ailli), where it joined the souls of relatives who
C had died previously, its kin group. They also believed in
[588] marriage in the next world, in which case the father of a [796]
[583] departed youth never refused the offer of the father of a deceased
girl, although he had to pay a high bride-price (cf. p. 81).

C The Chechen took the concepts of hell (džodžakheth),
[779] paradise (ageret), and a reward for good and evil deeds accom-
plished in this world (deli-makhli) from Christianity and Islam.
For each soul there is in heaven a wooden skeleton that starts
to sway and cover itself with flesh as soon as the body dies and
the soul ascends to heaven on a ladder; there it animates the
C body assigned to it, which is beautiful or ugly according to its
776 behavior on earth. Similarly, the concepts of good and evil
spirits, favorably or unfavorably disposed toward men, and of

[796 cont.]

776 devils (šaitan) were taken over from Islam, while the wicked wood-demons and witches (almas), as elsewhere (see above p. 714 [untranslated]), are of indigenous origin.

769 [776] [778] [585] The souls of ancestors were also the protective spirits (Seli) of the domestic hearth, and Wednesday (Ker-Seli) was consecrated to them. The hearth with the cauldron, hook, chain, fire, and ashes was considered sacred; the bride took ceremonial leave of it when departing from her parents' house, and the murderer obtained the protection of the father of the house, as among the Albanians, as soon as he touched the cauldron-chain, even when it was the house of an enemy kin-group. [782] [828] The oath on the ancestors' souls was considered the most solemn one, and when boundary-stones were set or land was divided, their vengeance was invoked on anyone who might disturb the arrangements. [231] [782] [686] The wronged person threatened to slaughter a dog on the grave of the ancestors of the tardy debtor or if he did not make amends or clear himself with an oath.

[778] [776] [788] Holy places (elgyts), small huts like the burial-houses (kaša) with one or two doors on the east or north side, in which horns and antlers and white symbols (rytš) are put as offerings, served for the worship of the gods and ancestors (cf. above, p. 741 [untranslated]). In the Khamkhin district offerings were also made near cemeteries at rectangular stone pillars with a niche carved out on the east side, in which the worshiper laid his head next to a burning candle. The kin group, village, or a larger community worshiped once a year at the sacred place and brought offerings of sheep, beer, spirits, a special ceremonial dish (tegum), [797] and breads, of which one had to be triangular, which were then eaten in company.

793 787 The sacrificial priests (tsain-zag) were chosen among the Ingush for life, or they belonged to a special kin-group according to tradition. They also engaged in the interpretation of dreams and predicting the future, and when someone had angered a deity, they determined by casting lots -- three sticks from a spoon -- the sacrifice that was to be offered (cf. Fig. 561 [in untranslated portion]). There were also soothsayers (dzyryk), who laid themselves on the floor in the holy place during the

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Dagestan RH8

C [797 cont.]
793 789 night with one ear on the ground and in this way awaited a message from the deity. Female soothsayers used to use rams' bones, mirrors, stones, and the like for their purposes. [Fig. 475 appears here.]

D 789 As a magical means of warding off evil, the Kurin sew amulets into their clothing on the back, and the Andi try to conjure up rain in the same way as the Balkan peoples (cf. also p. 27): a girl completely covered with leaves and twigs is led through the village by the others who beg for rain in song, and D [782] [752] then all of them bathe in the river and sacrifice a sheep. The evil spirit that causes pains in the head is drawn out by making a

D [532]

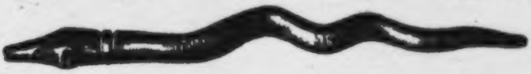

Fig. 475. A brass snake that is supposed to protect valuable articles buried under it from theft and deterioration, Kazikumuk (1/2 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)

D 766 787 761 hole in the sick man's skull with a knife (trepanation). For someone struck by lightning an animal is slaughtered as an offering to the one who caused the death, the thunder-god -- as among the Osset (see p. 87), the Abkhaz, and Cherkess (see pp. 25 f.) -- usually a cow, and the hide and head were hung on a pole.

C 692 Little is known of the legal practices, which are older than the lay and religious precepts (adat and šariat). D 627 Blood vengeance is still practiced among the Avar.

C 231 686 Among the Ingush, as mentioned above,¹ the dog played a similar rôle a hundred years ago, as is the case among the Osset (see p. 95) and among the Khevsur (see p. 747 [untranslated]), when a man wished to press a claim on another. C [685] [778] [769] A debtor or a person accused of theft had to swear on the sacred rock (yerda), to which dog bones and manure had been brought, and thereby acknowledge that if he denied the truth his ancestors would have to carry the ancestors of the accuser on their shoulders.

¹ [See category 116, p. 63 -- Analyst]

[798] [Fig. 476 appears here.]

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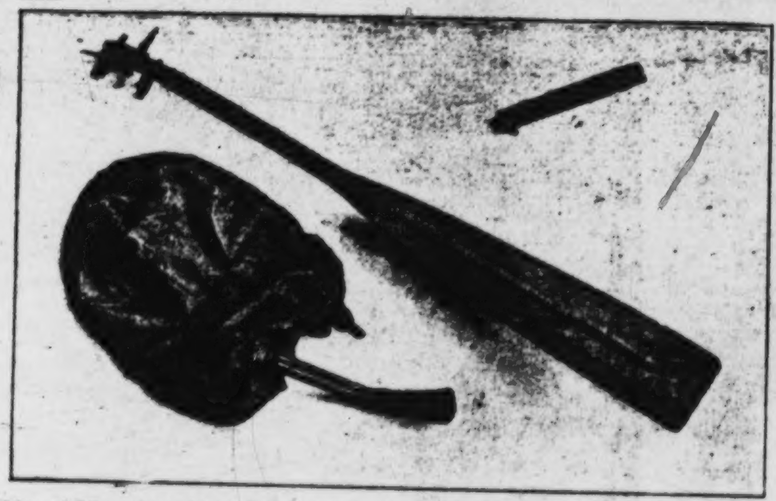

Fig. 476. Bagpipe, lute, pipe, Lezgin. (From M. v. Dechy.)

D
212
191 Islam is responsible for reading and writing being widely known. Boys and girls learn to read the Koran and, above all, to write in Tatar, for this is the universal language of trade in eastern Dagestan, while in the west it is Avar.

C
534
535 Music and dance. Among the Ingush, the men used to dance by themselves, singly or in rows or circles, to the accompaniment of shawms, bagpipes, or pipes, and similarly
D
535
[171] the women danced by themselves while a blind musician played for them. The Lezgin dance, which has been taken over by all the Caucasian peoples, symbolizes a man's wooing a shy, elusive woman; the dancers move the head and arms meaningfully, hold the body as straight as possible, and take small and very rapid sideward steps with the feet. Weapon-dances are also customary: one man dances between daggers stuck in the ground, or he holds them in his hands and displays his skill in
C
D
534 manipulating them. The musical accompaniment for dancing is provided by a drum and a clarinet; for singing, by the lute (Avar, t'ara) or the fiddle (Chechen, tšuandurki), each with two or three strings.

[799]

4. Indo-Germanic Peoples

a) The Osset

101 The Osset, called Ossili by Ptolemy in the second century A.D., were called Ass or Alan by the Arabic and medieval authors, and Yossi by the Russian chronicler Nestor (about 1100).

131 648 In the first few centuries A.D., they occupied the territory between the Don and the Sea of Azov, which probably got its name from them, and they formed one part of the Alan, who in large part had been swept away to the west by the Goths and Huns at the beginning of the tribal migrations (perhaps the name of the Moldavian capital city, Jassy, pronounced Yaš, comes from them). They appear to have been forced south to the Terek and Kuban by the Khazar in the ninth and tenth centuries and by the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and finally into their present site by the Kabardin penetrating in from the Crimea in the fourteenth century. [104] Originally they, or the Alan, were a powerful equestrian people who provided mercenary troops for the Georgians, Persians, Byzantines, and Khazar, but through internal dissension and battles with the Georgians and later with the Kabardin, they were reduced sharply in number and were depressed economically and culturally, to which the ruggedness and infertility of their present territory contributed. [Fig. 477 appears here.]

[800] [Fig. 478 appears here.]

181 The influence of environment and neighbors shows itself in their intellectual qualities: the Digor and the Tagaur are depicted as uncommunicative, honest, and industrious, the Kurtalin as candid, while the Alagir are said to be good-natured and clumsy.

142 Physically the Osset are of medium height and thick-set. The skull is medium-long to short, usually flat to medium-high; the face is broad, the nose large and straight, the chin short and round, and the lips thin. The complexion is light -- children often have red cheeks -- the eyes usually blue or gray, more rarely brown, and the hair blond, reddish, or light brown in

OSSeT RH9

[800 cont.]

most cases. Blondness and blue eyes appear to be more common in the south than in the more level north, where mixture with dark-skinned peoples (Lezgin, Kabardin, etc.) has probably taken place. Because of this lightness of hair and eyes, as well as many similarities in language and in material and spiritual traits (see below), various investigators have assumed a relationship with the Germanic peoples; on closer examination, however, it can only be conjectured that blond elements that predominated among the northern Indo-Germanic peoples migrated down from the north, mixed with this division of the Iranians, and remained in the majority; it is questionable whether Germanic constituents, say from the Goths and others who did press forward near them, are involved. The cultural phenomena that lead to the same assumption are also found among their neighbors, others may be assumed to be an old Indo-Germanic heritage, whereas others, especially religious customs and beliefs, point to strong influence on the part of the old indigenous population or mixture with it (see below, p. 83 ff.).

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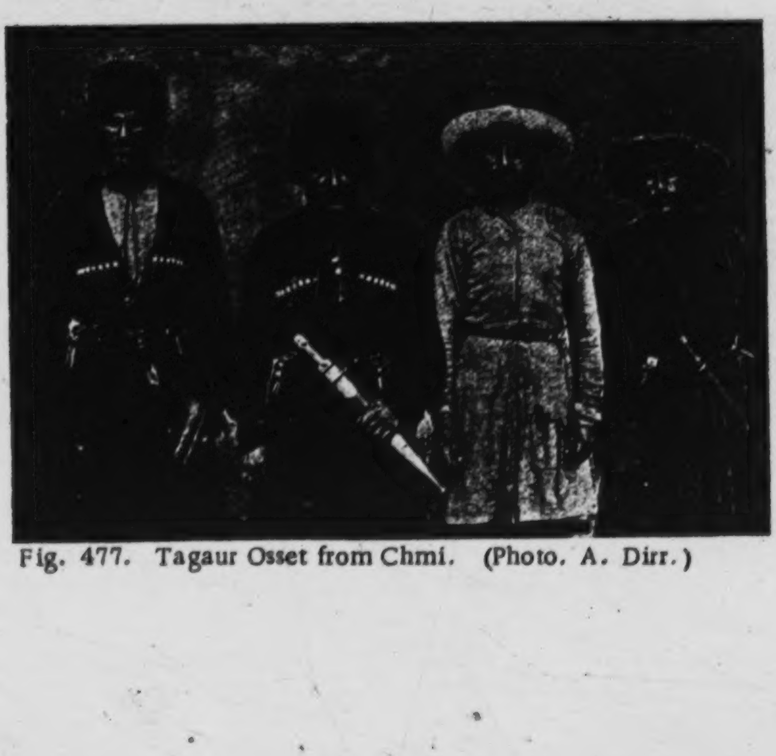

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Fig. 477. Tagaur Osset from Chmi. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

[800 cont.]

291 The clothing of the men (Figs. 477 and 480) does not differ essentially from that customary in the Caucasus; it consists of a cotton shirt, a dark undergarment of cotton or wool (kurat), over it a gray or black cherkeska (tsok‘a) of coarse cloth with cartridge-pockets on the breast, leather belt (rona), narrow or full trousers (šarovari, šalbar), and in addition, for bad weather, a hooded coat (nimat). In summer they wear white, broad-rimmed felt hats (khud, khode) on their heads, shaved bald, and, in winter, goat-skin caps (papakh) [302] and [Fig. 479 appears here] [801] almost always a coarse woolen cloth (baslak) over them. On their legs they wear thick woolen stockings (mestalt‘ă), leather leggings (zengoit‘ă), and light sandals (dzắbyrt‘ă) of soft leather or [Fig. 480 appears here] felt cloth, and in addition, in the street, overshoes with thick soles of cord or straps, or, for mountain climbing, shoes of hide (artš'it‘ă) with plaited-cord soles and an inner layer of grass (Figs. 478 and 479). 411 Like other Caucasians, they carry a dagger (kata) on the belt, and formerly a saber (akhsagard) and pistol (dambatsa) as well -- now a revolver (kerrakh) and a gun (top‘).

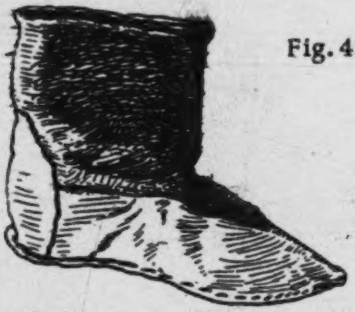

Fig. 478. Felt boot with leather trimming, Osset (1/6 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

291 [802] The women's costume (see Fig. 481) is usually red or blue. It consists of full cotton trousers (šarovari), white shirt,

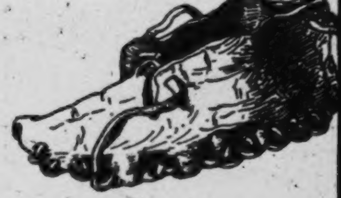

Fig. 479. Leather climbing-shoe, Osset (1/6 natural size). (Museum fü Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

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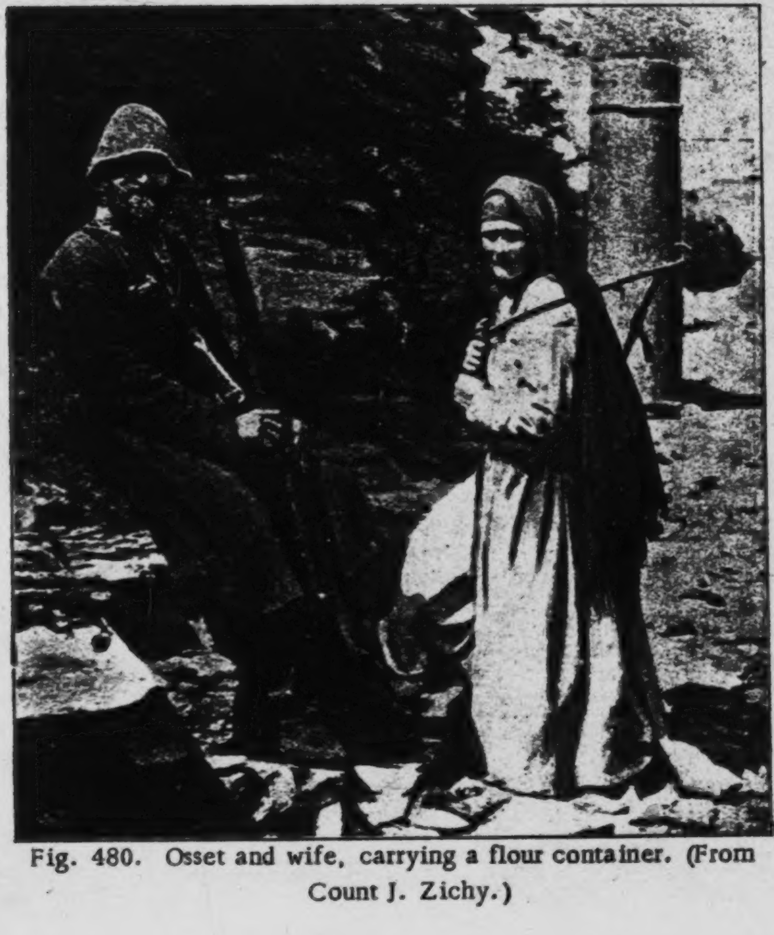
[801]



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302
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982

Fig. 480. Osset and wife, carrying a flour container. (From Count J. Zichy.)

[802 cont.]

291 [531] long undergarment (karnador-khadona) with wide sleeves, which is decorated with silver or gold edging (bit) and with silver clasps at the neck, a breast-bib similarly provided with edging and silver ornaments, or an open vest, and a short coat with narrow sleeves, over which a silver-mounted belt is worn. [Fig. 481 appears here.] Like the men they wear woolen stockings and sandals on their feet and overshoes in the street. The girls cover their heads with a Kabardin cap (see p. 5); [554] [578] the women, according to a strict precept of tradition, cover theirs with a cloth (narban, fata) after the first birth, and it is a grave insult and offense against them if a man tears it off.

[142] [302]

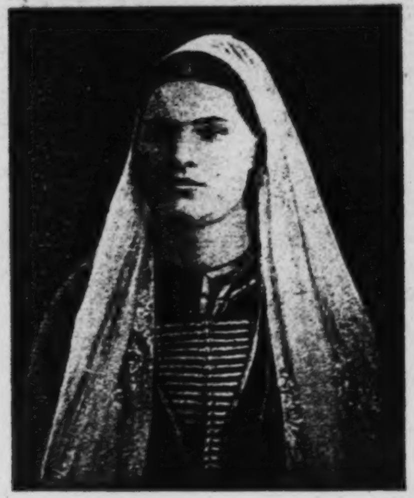

Fig. 481. Osset Woman. (From R. v. Erckert.)

361 Settlement and dwelling. The villages in the lowlands are in part somewhat spread out, partway up the mountains they contain twenty to thirty farmsteads, and farther up five or six, laid out on the slopes in terraces, and in the high mountains the citadel-like farmsteads are scattered individually.

342 [184] The houses along the northern boundary of Ossetia are built of mud and lattice-work in the style of the Cherkess and Cossack

[802 cont.]
houses, while in the southern lowlands wood is used as a building material, and in the mountains, stones. 342 [84]

The houses in the south (see Fig. 482) are made of beams with one or two stories and are covered with bark or boards. Besides the farm buildings in the yard, which is surrounded by a board fence, there are smaller huts on poles, with a flat roof, for the married children. [351] The houses in the highlands resemble the Khevsur houses in construction and layout [803] (see p. 725 [171]

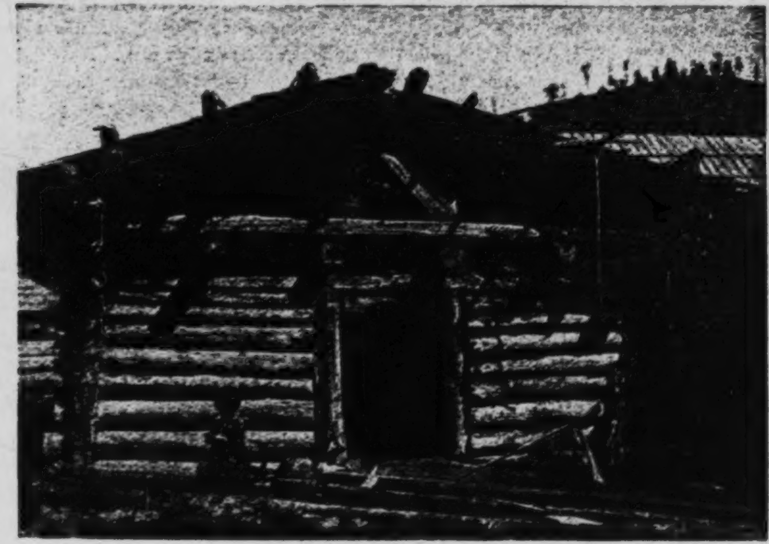

Fig. 482. Tuali dwelling, Osset. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

[untranslated]); they lean against mountain slopes and, like the Georgian huts, are partly built into the slope. The yard (kand) has a high wall built around it, on whose corners small turrets are often placed, and within, besides manure piles, plows (sibirr), sledges, drays, carts (uardun), and other agricultural implements, there are granaries (gondon) and, in the south, smaller huts, one of which is for guests in case there is no third floor with a guest-room. [Fig. 482 appears here.] In the village, or in many places, as well as in each farmstead, there is a high defense tower (see Fig. 484) like the Khevsur towers. 351 [712] [241] 343 [504] 712 [171]

2: Byhan--72 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
OSSET RH9

[803 cont.]

342 The larger room, on the upper floor in the two-story
houses, serves as kitchen and living-room. In the middle there
354 is a stone slab set into the floor for the hearth, and over it hangs
[415] the iron or copper cauldron (arrsist) by an iron chain (rakhis) from
a crossbeam (valardigatta); the smoke passes through a tube of
plaited twigs smeared with mud and cow-dung, or through a stone
[342] chimney that extends just beyond or ends just below the flat roof
covered with mud or stones and open on two sides. Along two
352 walls stand low benches (bandon) with curved pieces of wood
[352] instead of feet; usually only the men sit on them, while the
[516] women generally squat on the floor. The eldest member of the
kin group, however, [804] uses either a special, three-legged
[554] stool with a richly carved back (kalatkin), a chair with back and
[592] arm-rests (darsbandon), a four-legged chair with crossbars instead of arm-rests, or simple three-legged stools (see Fig. 430
[in untranslated portion]). Other furnishings are: three-legged,
[412] round tables (kakhkin), tongs (artsiskan), fire-shovels (aslan),
[415] roasting-spits with four long points, baking-trough (aring), butter-tub, and the like; on wall-shelves near the hearth all kinds of
brightly polished vessels of wood, copper, clay, and glass are
set out, and on the walls hang clothing, weapons, etc.

In the second room (khossan) stand the cradle and, as
beds -- in contrast to other oriental countries -- rectangular,
carved boxes with feet and high poles at the four corners tied
together by a crosspole, which are padded with rugs and bedding.
342 A door leads from the living-room into a storage-room (kabits)
776 where the household spirit (safa) lives.

Economy. In the lowlands the Osset prefer to practice
241 agriculture. Here a three-field system predominates: in the
first year the freshly fertilized field is seeded with wheat or
maize, in the second with barley, and in the third it lies fallow.
They also cultivate some rye, oats, and millet (galma), and
in the house gardens (sagaradon), peas, beans, cucumbers,
onions, leeks, and potatoes. Grain is cut with a sickle, grass
[804] with a scythe. In the mountains, the arable land (khugent),
which is measured in quarter-hectares (bongen = a day's work,

[804 cont.]
241 cf. the German Morgen) is very narrow on the slopes and is con-
[804] stantly threatened by heavy downpours and falling rocks; here
rye and barley are the principal crops. For this reason[1] animal
231 husbandry predominates; sheep in particular are kept, and to a
lesser extent goats, horses, and cattle, although the cow still
always serves as a measure of value. In summer the animals
spend the night in a barnyard surrounded by a stone wall or
plashed hedge near the house -- in winter in the house-stable --
where cows, goats, and sheep are milked and where the manure
[241] is carefully collected to be used as fertilizer and to be made into
[312] fuel-bricks (see p. 730 [untranslated]).

224 Hunting no longer provides any appreciable contribution
to subsistence, and fishing just as little; for the latter, in addi-
226a tion to fishing rods (simple wire hook on a short line of white
[227] horsehair and a long rod), they use nets and weir-baskets.

462 The men perform the heavy work, such as plowing, thresh-
ing, carpentry, and bricklaying; furthermore, they make
wooden implements, fur caps, shoes, saddles, bridles, etc.
[462] There are only blacksmiths and locksmiths as artisans, and
[323] pottery seems to be absent; [805] [Figs. 483 and 484 appear
here] [806] in forested regions, the men float and sell timber
[313] as a supplementary occupation. The women take care of the
household and the animals; they spin (see Fig. 488, 1), weave,
make silver and gold edging, cords, and men's hats of thin,
white felt, fetch firewood from the forest, flour from the mill,
etc. (see Fig. 480).

262 The food of the Osset consists principally of barley [Fig.
485 appears here] and rye flat-cakes of bread (tšurek), milk,
cheese, bean and maize soup (basu), various herbs, onions and
[263] garlic in salt-water (zakhdon), radishes, and red pepper. Meat
is usually eaten only on holidays, mainly mutton, boiled or cut
[514] in pieces and roasted on a spit (šašlik). Other foods for holidays
or entertaining guests are: mutton soup, bread of maize or
[435] wheat flour that is brought up from the lowlands, cheese toasted
in butter (dzika), and round cakes filled with cheese (khabišin,
akhtšin).

[1] [I.e., the arable land is very narrow--analyst]

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OSSET RH9

[805]

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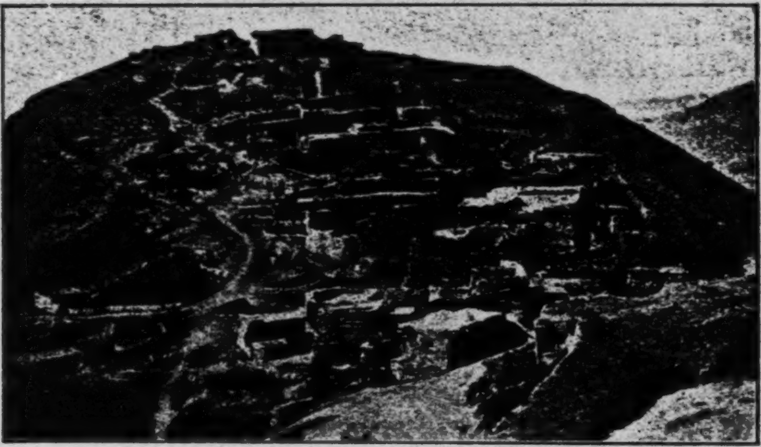

Fig. 483. Kamunta, Digori village on the Aigamugi-don, tributary of the upper Urukh. (From M. v. Déchy.)

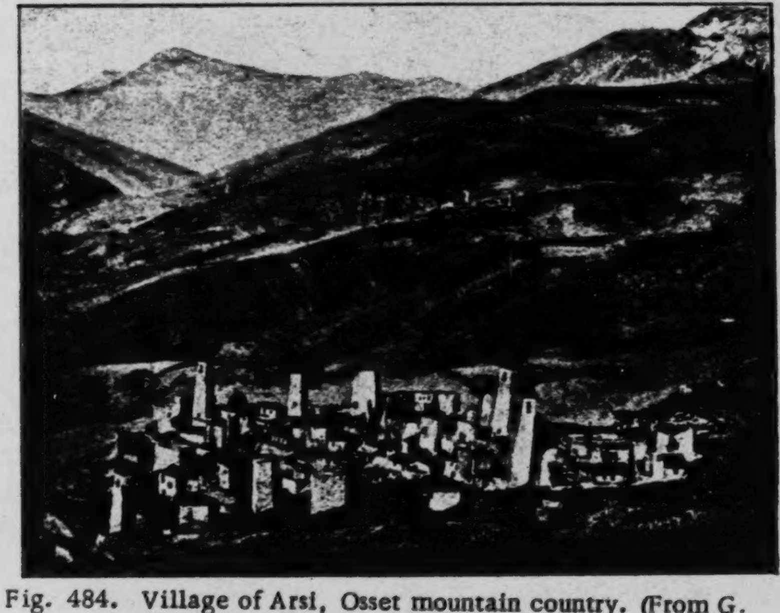

Fig. 484. Village of Arsi, Osset mountain country. (From G. Nioradze.)

[806 cont.]

293 akhtsin). With this they drink barley liquor (araki), mead (rung), sweet, black beer (ludi), and dry, light beer (bagan) made of barley and hops, as well as two other beer-like drinks, probably [177] taken over from the Tatars: [807] one made from millet or rye groats (braga), and the other (buza) from bread, wheat, and malt. The barley beer brewed by the women is drunk in great quantities on holidays, as among the Khevsur. [Fig. 486 appears here.]

264 During the day some bread, cheese, and the like is eaten as required. The main meal is eaten in the evening, first by the elders, then by the younger people. Before the meal begins, [182] prayers are said, and during the meal moderation and reserve are maintained; afterwards the hands are washed over a basin passed around by a servant. Departing from oriental custom, [415] they use wooden bowls, plates, spoons, knives, forks, and [412] napkins.

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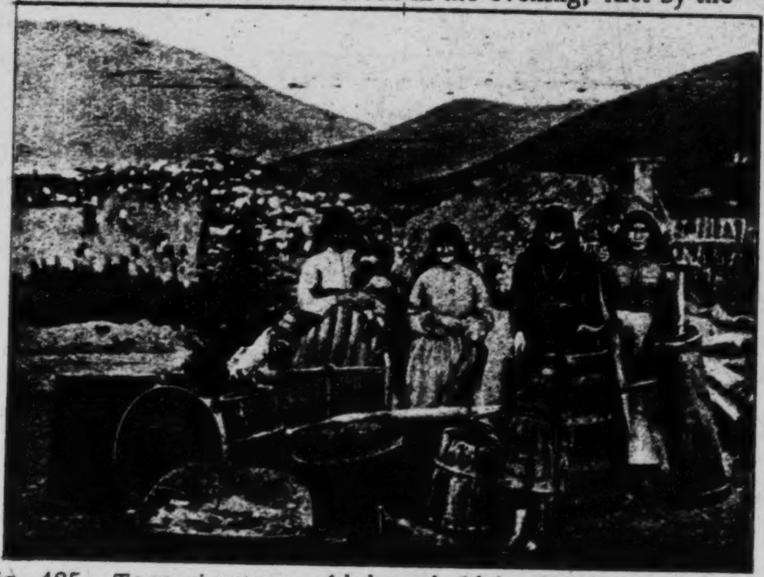

Fig. 485. Tagauri women with household implements. (From G. Nioradze.)

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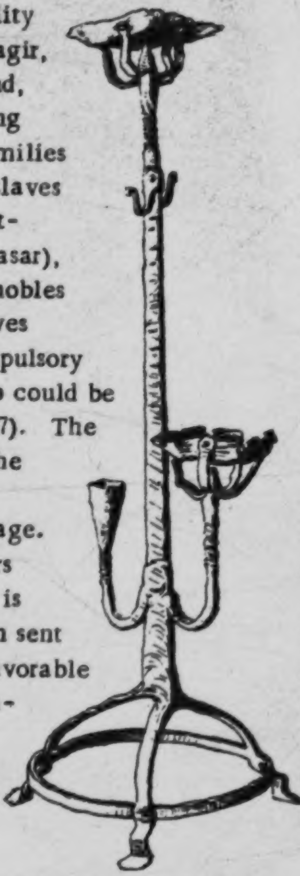
Social and family arrangements. The five major tribes of the Osset are divided into subtribes or stocks [Geschlechter], and further into village communities with an elder (khetsau) at

619 [807 cont.]
621 the head, and these in turn consist of kin groups [Sippen] or
622 extended families [Grossfamilien] with a father of the house (aldár)
596 as the head. The position of the women, who usually stay in
562 their own quarters in the house, and the ranking among them are
governed in the same way as among the Georgians.



354 Fig. 486. Iron stand with two lamps and a candle-socket, Osset along the Georgian highway (about 1/8 natural size).

565 Social equality prevails among the
Kurtalin and Alagir, but among the Tagaur,
184 on the other hand, there used to be four
classes, as among the plains Georgians:
eleven noble families (aldar), who were per-
mitted to keep slaves and who owned all the
land; free tenant-farmers (farsaglag);
bondsmen (kavdasar), resulting from mar-
riages between nobles and peasants' daughters
[595] as secondary wives (nomuluos) and obli-
[567] gated to do compulsory service; and slaves
(gurdsuagi), who could be sold and also put to
death (until 1867). The same social order
existed among the Digor, where the nobles
were called "baduliat."

582 [808] Marriage. Men usually marry at
twenty-five years of age, girls at nine-
teen. Marriage is first proposed secretly
584 through a woman sent by the suitor's parents
and then, if a favorable answer is received,
openly by matchmakers (minuwartar),
who bring gifts. Next the engagement is
[583] announced by a crier (ɣark'anak), the
groom pays the purchase price (arɣat)
584 of 100 to 120 rubles, [Fig. 487 appears here] in earlier days,
animals and weapons, and a feast and drinking bout (kaes) are
held by the bride's parents. From then until the wedding the
bride remains hidden, even from the groom.

[808 cont.]

585 On the wedding day, when the groom arrives at the bride's house with his mounted, singing, and shooting retinue (kindzgonta), he lets himself be led, with his face covered by a cloth, to the oldest woman present, to whom he gives 20 to 30 rubles and a piece of cotton, for which he receives half a pail of sweet red wine, food, and delicacies, which are eaten by his escorts. In [583] the meantime, the dowry is brought to the groom's house, and the bride puts on her usual attire, except that her head is covered with a cloth, her face with a veil (khisa); then the best man (anshuargin) and the bridesmaid (dž̌inarkinmade) lead her to the church, where the groom awaits her. After the wedding she is taken in a one-horse cart to her new home, where sweets are poured over her at the door as a sign of good wishes for a happy and fruitful marriage. On the return trip shots are fired to ward [789] off evil spirits, and for the same reason the bridal couple are veiled; furthermore, for the same reason, the young man's people hold daggers over the heads of the newlyweds when they enter the house, [809] and boys smash all kinds of things in the bedroom and throw them out. Then the young wife must bow down

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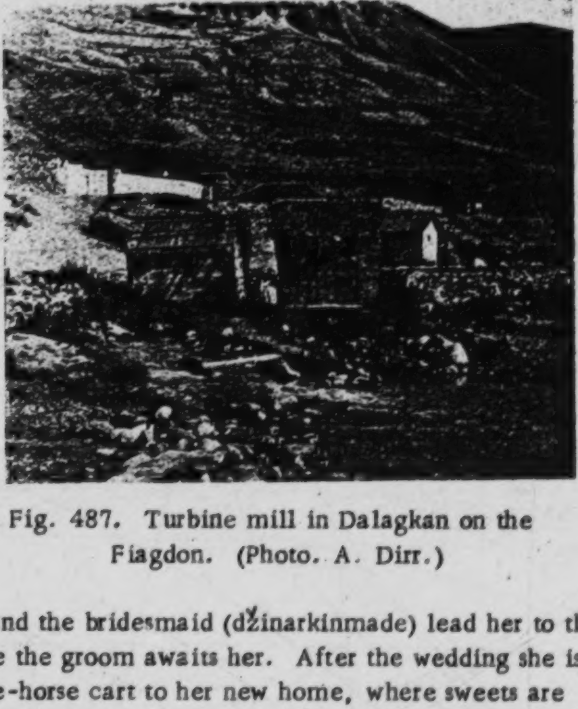

Fig. 487. Turbine mill in Dalagkan on the Fiagdon. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

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OSSET RH9

[809 cont.]

Then the young wife must bow down
before the hearth and cauldron-chain, ask for a blessing from the household spirit (olar-safa), and anoint the shoes of the mother of the house (ā̆fsin) with fat as a sign of her future obedience. After this she is led to the sacred stone in front of the village, the seat of the Mother of God (made-meiram), the protectress of married women, to ask for her blessing, [Fig. 488 appears here] and finally, while the guests are seating themselves for

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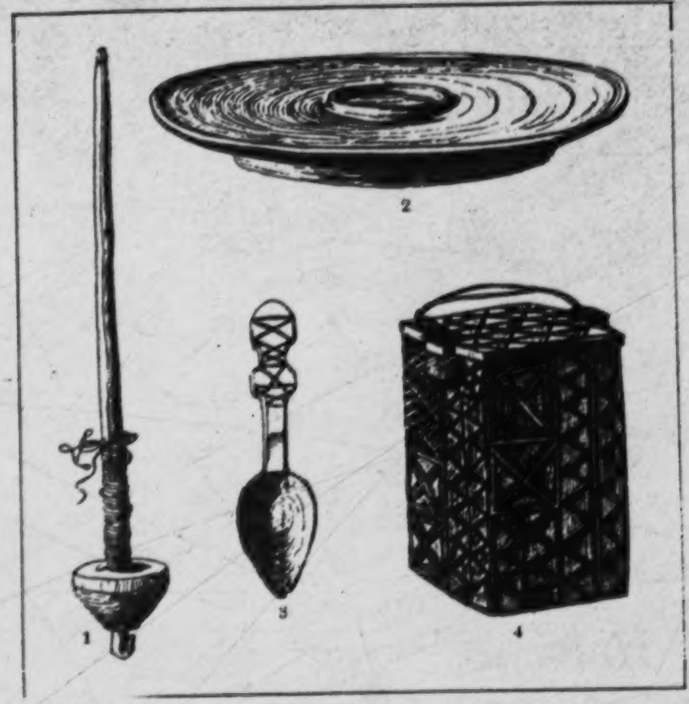

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Fig. 488. 1, spindle of solid wood (alkhuʃ) (1/4 natural size); 2, top of a three-legged table (1/6 natural size); 3, child's spoon with incised decoration (uʃdeg) (1/4 natural size); 4, carved wooden salt-cellar (2/5 natural size). (1 and 3, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; 2 and 4, Museum für deutsche Volkskunde, Berlin.)

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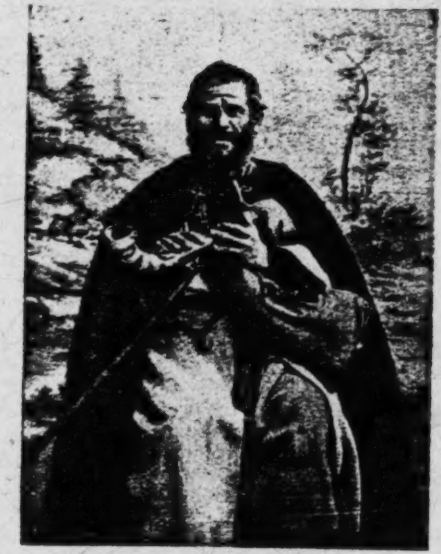

Fig. 489. Osset bagpiper.

585 the feast, she is led into the bedroom, which she must not leave for three days and nights, and where she visits her husband only secretly at night. After this time has passed, the wife's mother brings the young man food and drinks and the gifts that his wife prepared for him as a bride, usually clothing and the like, blesses them both, and has the veil removed from the wife by a youth with a roasting-spit (khikhesan). The young couple now begin their married life together, [810] [Fig. 489 appears here] and [302] the woman no longer wears just one braid, but three, one in the back and one on each side of the face (Fig. 480).

842 The birth of a boy is greeted with joy; the parents are congratulated, and the men lay rifle-bullets in the cradle with the child, but the birth of a girl is considered a misfortune. 862 Children are suckled until two, sometimes even until five years of age. They are bathed once or twice a month and otherwise lie in the 854 cradle, in the bottom of which, as in Turkestan, a tube of wood or bone is installed, through which the urine is supposed to drain. 846 The new mother must remain in the house for two weeks after the delivery, and there is a celebration when she first goes out.

[810 cont.]

551 Besides a Christian or Mohammedan name, the child is given a native one which remains as its first name. Masculine names are, for example, Inaluk (= the new one), Sau-kuy (= black dog), Tsărai (= live!), Mairan, Kubadi; feminine ones are Sardan (= the merry one), Daubau, Tsada (= thistle), Kyeba, Surme.

763 Death. When a man dies, his death is announced in the village by a crier (ɣark'anak). The burial and mourning cus-
764 toms are similar to those of the Khevsur (see above, p. 737 f.
765 [untranslated]) with regard to the participation of the entire vil-
771 lage, lament for the dead, women mourners, funeral feast, and horse-races. On the third day the deceased is wrapped in felt or cotton and borne on a board to the grave.

Here the male relatives beat their foreheads and the back of their necks, and the women pull their hair and scratch their faces with stones, which, covered with blood, they throw into the grave. The widow cuts off her braids and lays them on the dead man's breast as a sign that she will belong to him even in

775 the next world. An old priest (bakh
faldisakhu) with three [811] relatives
goes around the body three times, ex-
tols his virtues and deeds in a speech,
and tells of the kingdom of the dead
(barastyr) and the ride to it; then he
strikes the dead man's horse, whose
neck is covered with white calico
and the rump with a morocco-leather
blanket, with the widow's braids
and gives it millet and spirits in a bowl,
which is then smashed against its hoof.
Then a notch is made in its ear, and
a man gallops off on it. Calico and
saddle-blankets are distributed to

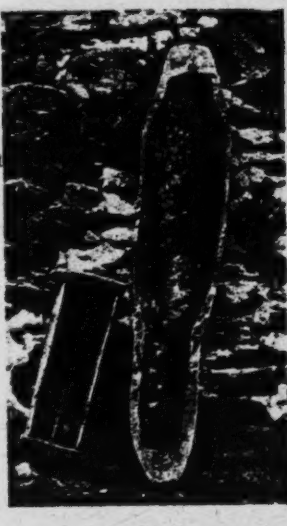

Fig. 490. Coffins from burial-houses in Saniba, Ossetia. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

[811 cont.]

764 the poor. After the priest has finally offered spirits and bread
as a sacrifice for the dead, the body is lowered into the grave.

After the interment the funeral feast takes place, and
765 during the year up to twelve memorial feasts, to which all the
people from the village concerned and also from neighboring
villages are invited. The costs of these many celebrations are
so great that many a kin group is reduced to poverty by them,
[775] but respect for the dead requires them, as does the wish that the
departed may have holy bread, black beer, and spirits in the
next world instead of grass to eat. On the Friday of the sixth
week after New Year's Day, in the "time of great fasting," during
which the "gathering of the dead" takes place, a doll
dressed in the clothing of the deceased is put on an elevation,
and his relatives and friends offer spirits and [Fig. 490 appears
here] gruel from the memorial feast to him and spend the night
there in mourning. The widow must fast for a year, wear a
rough, black shirt and dress, and perform the duties that she
otherwise would do for her husband: make the bed, light a
candle, hold a wash-basin, jug, and hand-towel, etc. Every
[171] Friday evening she goes to the grave (as in the Balkans) to bring
her husband food and drink.

766 If a bride dies, the female relatives lay out the body in
the cemetery for the burial, and one of the women releases
the groom from the engagement in her name and begs him to
permit her to choose another groom in the next world.

764 In olden times only the [812] bodies of women were
[778] buried; those of men were wrapped in ox or buffalo skins and
hung on sacred trees. There are now six types of graves in
Ossetia.

The more recent Moslem graves are marked with an upright stone one and a quarter to one and a half meters high and 60 to 70 centimeters wide, on the front face of which, as among the Serbs, horses and weapons are painted at the bottom [Fig. 491 appears here] and sayings from the Koran at the top. The Christian graves of the present era resemble the Russian ones, while formerly burial houses were used, and they are still preserved in many places (Fig. 494). Like those of the

[812 cont.]

964 Khevsur, they are built out of slate slabs with durable mortar, six to eight meters high, and provided with pyramidal roofs. Inside beams and boards are fastened at the long sides, on which the bodies were laid; when the boards were full, the bodies were thrown into a pit in the center. A variation of this is found in the burial houses of western Ossetia, which under the influence of Islamic architecture, are built like those of the Kabardin and Karachai: the foundation is square, the roof many-edged and pointed; the bodies lay inside on the ground. In other graves the bodies were covered with stones and on top -- similar to the old Serbian noblemen's sarcophagi -- stone boxes about two and a half meters long and one meter wide were erected. In connection with this last type unworked stones stand on top, as in Albania, which are about three meters high, 60 centimeters wide, and 15 to 30 centimeters thick. It has not yet been determined whether these two types are Osset or older in origin.

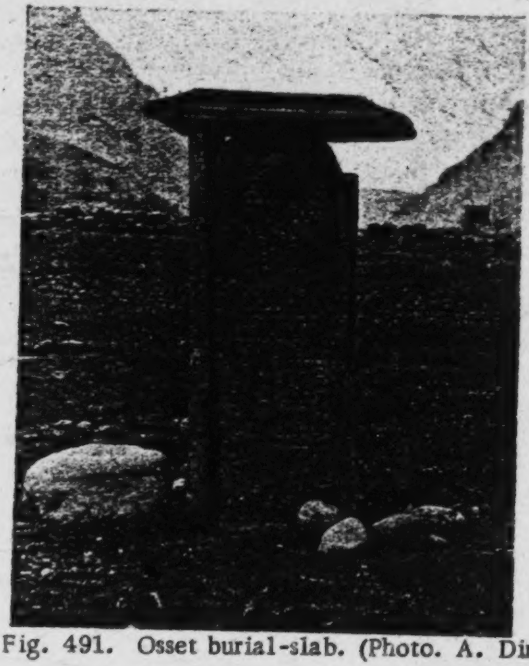

Fig. 491. Osset burial-slab. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

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[812 cont.]

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Religious beliefs and customs. The Osset are supposed to have been converted to Christianity by King Vakhtang Gurgaslan (454 to 499), which is not wholly believable since at that time they lived still farther north. In the tenth [813] century, when they lived on the Terek, Kuban, and Malka, they

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Fig. 492. Osset gravestone of more recent type, near Alagir on the Ardon. (From M. v. Déchy.)

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gave up Christianity for Islam for a short time, and this was repeated in the fifteenth century and again in the eighteenth century under the influence of the Kabardin, who had immigrated in the fourteenth century and were converted to Islam at that time. [Fig. 492 appears here.] Since then part (1/4 to 1/5) of the western Osset, particularly the Digor in the lowlands, has been Mohammedan.

[813 cont.]

346 172 [173] In many places in Ossetia are found old churches and ruins of them, whose erection is ascribed, as almost everywhere, to Queen Tamara (1171 to 1198) (Fig. 496). There are small houses built of stone without mortar, about six to eight meters long and four meters wide, with a span-roof, small door, and a window-hole in the east wall; inside, as in Svanetia, horns and antlers are piled up. On the other hand, there are no remains of old mosques anywhere except in the west.

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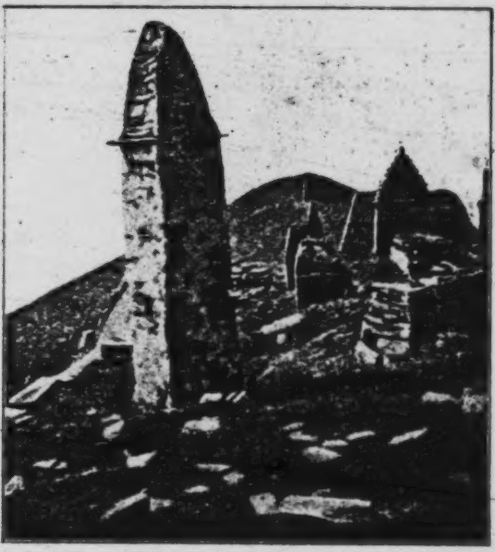

Fig. 493. Old Osset grave-pillars near Alagir on the Ardon. (From M. v. Déchy.)

778 The churches often stand near or at the site of old sacred places (dzuar), where, as in Khevsuria, religious festivals are celebrated, marriages are consecrated, sacrifices offered, councils held, and the threatened find protection.

[776] Thus, there is one such standing near the church consecrated to St. Elias (Vatsilya) and to Mary (Mariam) near Bagini: a large pile of rocks, on which there is a high pole with a white cloth and nearby there are several sticks; in front, there is a long row of parallel stone seats and between them stone slabs as tables.

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[814]

778 The most revered holy-place, Rekom (see Fig. 497), not
[346] far from the Tseya glacier, is a plank house with a greatly pro-
jecting span-roof and supported on both sides by four pillars
each; over the small iron door there is an iron cross with curved
arms and several bells with a Georgian inscription. A low stone
[782] wall surrounds the sacred place and its front yard. Near the house
lie horns from bison and other animals as [Fig. 493 appears here]
the first booty of hunters, vessels, lead bullets, arrows, spear-
heads, etc., and also in the inside there are many arrows,
pictures of saints, censers, candles, ornaments, horns, antlers,
rugs, etc. (Fig. 500). In the vicinity there are many shelter-
huts of stone with board roofs for the pilgrims, who stay here for
[758] two weeks from the first Saturday in May, offering sacrifices,
feasting, dancing, and singing.

[171] Furthermore, the Osset, like the mountain Georgians,
Cherkess, and Abkhaz, have sacred groves (idavog), from which
no one may fetch wood, except the priests; passers-by lay wood
[782] down as an offering or hang threads on the branches of certain
trees. The Osset who live near the grove Dzuare-γade (= forest
of the cross) near Abanokau in the Trusso gorge sacrifice sheep to
[626] St. Elias, eat the meat, and hang the skin on the trees. They
believe that anyone who fells trees here will be struck blind by
St. Elias and can recover his eyesight only by sacrificing an ox.

[815] Also, individual trees are considered holy, and
[562] women may not touch them, just as they may not enter the
sacred places and groves. Thus, sacrifices are offered in front
of a tree near Styr-Digor, into which an iron cross has grown,
[796] and every summer a week long festival is celebrated at a hollow
[782] tree on the mountain Tatar-Tun near Elkhot, in which the Osset
lay pieces of cloth, money, and the like as offerings. Also, a
[796] great festival is held every summer below the cave of St. Elias
(Vatsilya-legete) on the Lamardon, which commands great re-
[789] spect and of which miracles are told; here, beer, sheep, and
[782] oxen are offered to St. Elias, and the priest reports the visions
[787] and omens that appear to him in the cave. [Fig. 494 appears
here.]

[815 cont.]

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As can be seen from what has been said, Christianity and Islam have only superficially affected the beliefs of the Osset and have not touched their core. Those who call themselves Christians do go to church, observe the Christian fasts and celebrations, and speak of God, Christ, and many saints, and the Mohammedans perform the ablutions, fast during Ramadan, and have Friday as a holiday, but in addition they retain their veneration of their old gods and spirits, their sacred places, and their own customs.

764

Fig. 494. Osset burial-houses.
(Photo. A. Dirr.)

776 The highest god of the Osset, Khutsau, who is called upon in all prayers, lives in heaven; he is the lord over good and evil and dispatches it through his messengers. Barastūr is the judge of the dead, Amon watches over the road from paradise to hell, and Kurdalegon is the heavenly blacksmith who shoes the steeds of the dead. Others are nature-spirits, such as: Makhamath, the son of the sun; Khemethan, the son of the moon; Buduri-isad, the protector of the fields; Khualerdar, the god of the harvest; Talvari, the protector of the livestock; Āvsati, lord of the wild game, especially the deer, ibex, mountain goat, and wild boar; Tutyr, lord of the wolves; Dubāltūr, protector of the waters, the fish, [816] and the fishermen; Runihara, god of health; and Saureg-gsuar, lord of the raiders. Others have become confused with Christian saints, except for the vague figure of the Son of God (K'iriste), for example: St. George (Vastirdži, Vaskõrguy),

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[816 cont.]

776 the most popular deity, the protector of the traveler and of the roads; St. Theodore (Tutir), protector of the sheep; Nicholas, performer of miracles; St. Elias (Vatsilya), lord over thunder and lightning, as among the Russians.

766 The Osset believe that anyone who has been struck by
[761] lightning has been shot by St. Elias because he has offended him. Friends and relatives dance around the deceased and take care to lament in order not to anger St. Elias. Then he is buried at the place of death or [Fig. 495 appears here] at the place where two goats have pulled him in a two-wheeled cart; a black buck is slaughtered at the grave, and the skin is hung on a long pole.

[532]
[764]

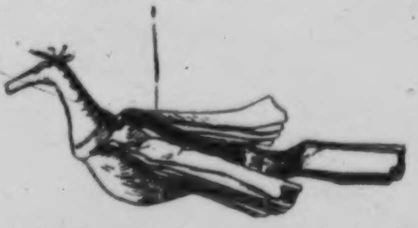

Fig. 495. Soul-cock of white cotton with red bands, tail and wings of paper, from a grave in Khad on the Sadon, western tributary of the Ardon (about 1/3 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

769 Ancestor spirits are Safa, the household spirit and pro-
tector of the hearth, and Fazbaden, protector of the kin group.
775 The people fear and honor their ancestors, the souls of the dead, and offer them all that they needed during life so that they will watch over their kin group and grant it benefits. They erect huts for them in the woods near springs and place a bench and a bed inside so that the souls can rest on them; once or twice a year a feast is held there to honor the dead and food and drinks are left behind for them.

775 The Osset believe that a court of six men in the next
[761] world decides whether the soul should leave the body when it is ill; in the case of an affirmative decision, death appears in the form of a wolf, and the sick person dies. The soul then floats

[816 cont.]

775 over the body as long as it lies in the house; at the burial, it again enters the body, which gets up in the grave three times, and then flies through seven rings into the next world, where the judge of the dead (Barastür) sends it to paradise (dzenete) or to hell (zindone). In the next world it again assumes the form of a human being and lives like one; when it gets old, it

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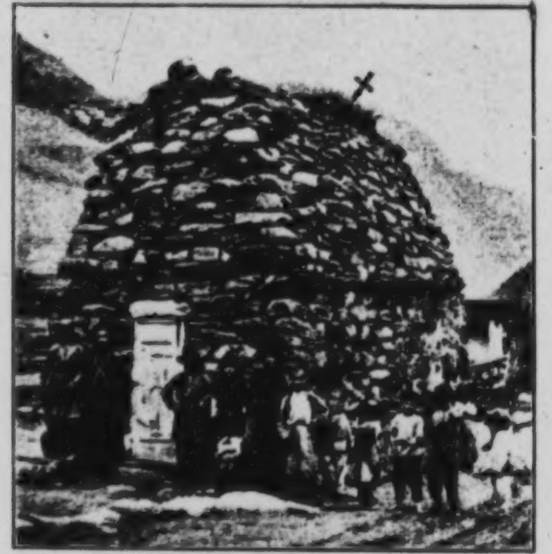

Fig. 496. Osset church in Nusal on the Ardon. (From G. Nioradze.)

775 rejuvenates itself by eating flesh (vsvar) from the dragon Ruimon. St. Elias frees the [817] people on earth from this congenitally [761] blind dragon, from whose roaring they sicken and die; he fetters it with a chain, pulls it up by this, and heavenly spirits above hack off pieces of flesh with swords, from which the souls cook "vsvar" for themselves.

782 When a blood sacrifice is offered at a holy place or at a festival, the eldest man first seizes the fattened sacrificial animal (nivondov), cow, goat, or sheep, by the left horn, burns [Fig. 496 appears here] a cross on its snout and behind the right ear with a glowing coal while praying, pours spirits into the fire,

[817 cont.]

782 drinks some himself, and after him a boy. Then the animal is slaughtered by two youths; the blood is caught and covered with earth. The meat is cooked in a kettle and eaten at the feast; the eldest man throws a piece of cooked lung together with fat and cake (tširi) into the fire. Afterwards the bones are laid together at the place of sacrifice, and the head of the sacrificial animal is hung on a tree or on a pole.

796 In addition to the Christian holidays of the Georgian Church or those of Islam, the Osset celebrate their old native festivals [782] to honor the above-mentioned deities; among them there are "masculine" ones, that is, those celebrated only by men with blood sacrifices, and "feminine" ones, those celebrated by the women with milk sacrifices.

Before the harvest (kuft) they ask the god of the harvest, [241] Khualerdar, for protection of the reapers against harm. His principal [818] festival takes place in the autumn. Then a hundred-weight sheaf of millet, barley, rye, and wheat is brought to the father of the house, which he has sorted out according to type of grain and has spirits, black beer, groats-beer, etc. made from it. At the feast, for which fowl, sheep, and [152] oxen are slaughtered, the mother of the house scatters a few grains about and asks the god for much millet and for the extermination of rats and mice. [Fig. 497 appears here.]

A buck is slaughtered for the festival of the household [782] spirit (giniata), and the blood is buried. At midnight the men say prayers of thanks in the barn and ask the protective spirit for blessings in the following year; afterwards they drink millet-beer (kumal) and eat cuts of buck-liver (akhsarfanbas), which [252] are boiled, then wrapped, five, seven, or twelve at a time, in visceral fat, and roasted on a stick. Then the festive meal takes place in the house.

On New Year's Eve, on the last or the next to last Friday in December, the whole kin group [Sippe] sits at the hearth, and the father prays, thanking God for the previous year and asking for blessings in the new year. During the night the children [852] wander about the village, [819] [Figs. 498 and 499 appear here] [820] throw grains into the houses, and sing that God may give

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[820 cont.]

796 much luck, a son, health, bountiful harvest, success in hunting,
[852] and the like. The ending of this song, "Do not stop us, we
must go to still other houses," is reminiscent of the one customary among us. On the morning of New Year's Day the
[372] father of the house starts a straw fire in the yard, so that his
[769] parents might have enough in the next world for the whole year.

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Fig. 497. National shrine of the Osset on the upper Tseya-brook. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

796 [Fig. 500 appears here.] Then the day is spent in dancing, singing, drinking, and feasting, for which, among other things, there are large cakes (deda) and baked goods in the form of wheels, plows, harrows, etc., so that these implements may bring the kin group a good harvest.

On the Wednesday evening between Christmas and New
[782] Year's Day, the father of the house slaughters a lamb in front
[776] of the door for the god of evil and asks him to accept the sacrifice, food, and drink, not to rob him of his animals and property, and not to harm his kin group, but instead to refrain from exercising his power and disappear. The lungs and heart of the animal are roasted, the meat boiled; after the others have left, the father of the house lays a piece of this on the

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[819]

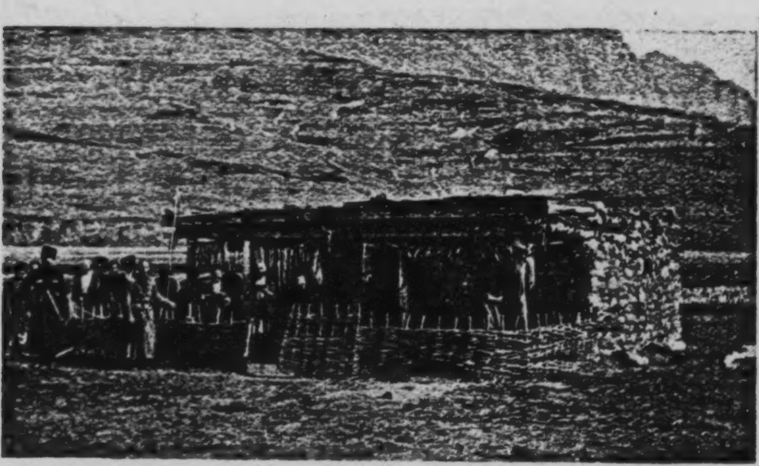

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Fig. 498. Osset meeting, festival, and prayer house, Dargavs. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

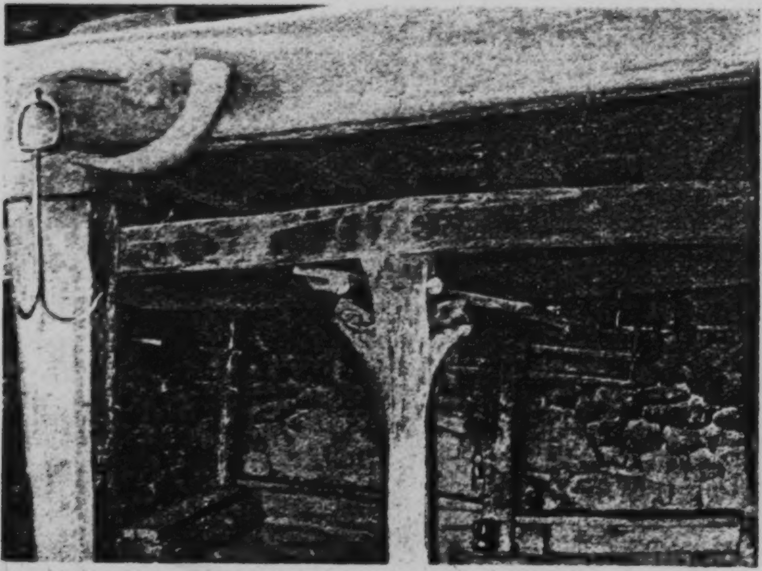

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Fig. 499. Feasting hall in Dzivgisdzuar. (Photo. A. Dirr.)

[820 cont.]

796 table under a coat, and it is believed that the god eats from it. The meat is eaten at night at the festival meal, and the bones are thrown into a pit that the father of the house [821] has dug in front of the door. In order not to arouse the evil spirit, the name of the highest god is not spoken. This custom and the
[177] belief in this deity indicate Iranian origin.

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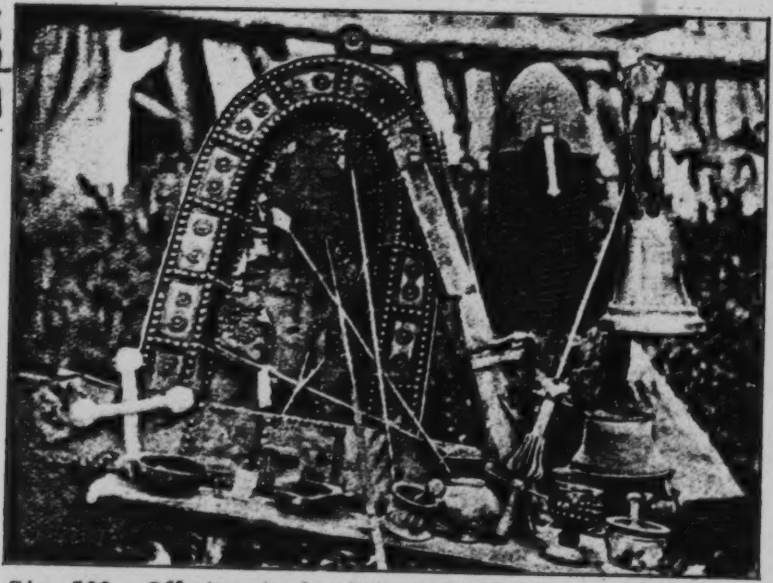

Fig. 500. Offerings in the shrine Rekom. (From G. Nioradze.)

796 The festival of Mary is a "feminine" one that the girls celebrate at the end of autumn in an old woman's house. The eldest of the girls asks the highest god and "Allarde" for a suitor and protection from disease and evil women, and then [Fig. 501 appears here] all of them take one of the prepared cakes, in whose filling they read the vocation of their future husbands: grain indicates a farmer, cheese, an owner of livestock, etc.

788
[776] The worship of the god of health (Runibara) is also a concern of the women. When a sick person has recovered, the women from his and from neighboring kin groups go to a sacred tree, where the eldest of them lays down cheese-cake

2: Byhan--93 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
OSSeT RH9

[821 cont.]
788 and pours milk over it while singing sacred songs. Afterwards
they eat the cakes and a dried sturgeon (kaf), which had previ-
ously hung over the head of the afflicted person. They tie
[780] pierced silver coins on the tree as a consecrated offering; who-
[753] ever steals them will suffer from the same disease, according to
the belief of the Osset.

755 When a child is sick with smallpox, the mother and her
[782] women friends, holding three flat-cakes with burning incense

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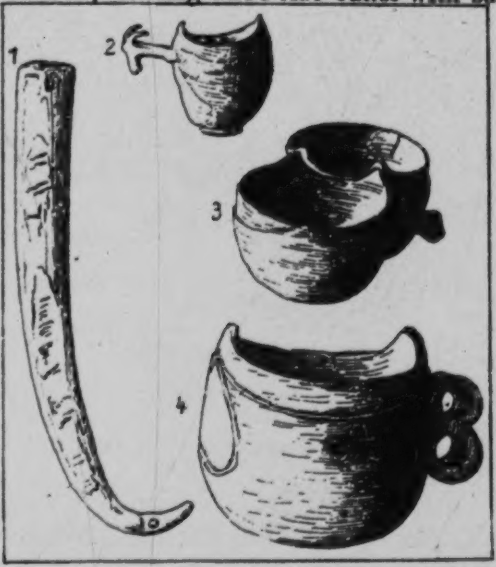

Fig. 501. Osset drinking vessels: 1, vessel for spirits (goat horn) from the Dzuar Gulikau (žed) (1/7 natural size); 2, wooden beer-cup (kus) (1/6 natural size); 3, wooden beer-cup, double vessel, from the Dzuar Gulikau (1/8 natural size); 4, wooden beer-cup (kusgen) (1/5 natural size). Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

755 over its bed, ask the smallpox spirit (alaurdi) for a cure, and
[822] in a song that they then sing, they promise him cheese-
cake, the sacrifice of a steer, black beer, silver wings [Flügel],
etc.

[822 cont.]
789 Evil spirits that could harm house and farm are warded off,
as in Macedonia, with horses' heads and bones, which are hung
on the yard wall or on the fence. Protection of children and ani-
751 mals from evil spirits -- the belief in the "evil eye" does not
[753] seem to be present -- is sought through amulets for example,
little sacks of wool, iron, and poppies are hung around children's
necks [Fig. 502 appears here.]

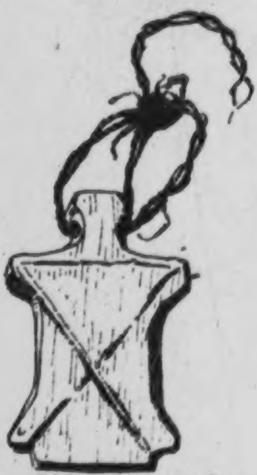

Fig. 502. Amulet for sacrificial ox, Osset (2/5 natural size). (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

671 Legal conceptions and customs. The fundamental features
of Osset prescriptive law are the same as in that of the mountain
627 Georgians. Instead of blood vengeance an agreement (berdzkhali)
can be reached with the help of an arbitrator (terkhoneleg); the
wergild (kan-algan) is measured according to rank, sex, and age.
682 Murder can also be expiated in other ways: by ordeal, in which
case a male member, even a boy, chosen by lot from the
murdered man's kin group is allowed to shoot once at the
murderer; or by faldisandsunag, that is, the culprit is pronounced
the slave of the murdered man at his grave, both in this world
and in the next, and he loses all rights, a disgrace that a free
Osset could hardly bear. In the case of murder of parents, the

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OSSeT RH9

[822 cont.]

682 criminal is burned in his house with his family, and all his property is destroyed. Manslaughter resulting from carelessness, or in self-defense, and slaying a thief are punished by fines, as are wounds, which are evaluated differently according to body part and severity; livestock and barleycorns are used here also as units of measure (cf. p. 747 [untranslated]). Theft from strangers out-
685 side the tribe is not considered a crime and is punished only if the injured party knows the culprit. An apprehended thief may be beaten as long as desired, or he must return the stolen goods
684 fivefold. The abduction of a girl is expiated by marriage and purchase-price, that of a wife, as well as seduction, is punished to the same extent as murder.

683
686 [823] Cats and dogs are used in the same way as among the Khevsur, and likewise the donkey. If someone cannot collect
[231] a debt or cannot obtain satisfaction for an insult, he slaughters
[171] one of these animals on the grave of the debtor's or offender's ancestors; the souls of the ancestors are then threatened in the
[775] next world by the disgrace of being tormented by this animal, a thing which no Osset would permit and would rather make payment or amends immediately. -- In the case of theft the Osset
685 turns to a sorcerer (kurismetsok), who then goes to the house of the suspect or, in the absence of a definite suspect, goes about in the village with a cat, in order to indicate that the above-mentioned fate awaits the thief; the thief will return the stolen goods without hesitation. When taking an oath, the Osset seizes a dog
782 by the tail, or a donkey by the ear; if he swear falsely, the souls of his ancestors and of his people must eat such animals in the next world.

428 After the death of the father, the inheritance is divided equally among the sons, and only two obtain a greater share: the eldest receives the house and some livestock, and similarly
[562] the youngest receives some livestock and weapons. The daughters receive nothing; on the contrary, when they marry, the purchase money goes to their brothers. If the eldest son is still a minor, the mother manages the estate. If the widow has no children or
[589] only daughters, she retains the estate for a year, until the memorial celebration, then she must turn it over to the nearest male

Osset RH9
Caucasia RH1

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[589]

[823 cont.]
relative of the deceased, who supports her if she is not married by her husband's father or brother, as was formerly their duty. Children born of this new marriage or born out of wedlock are regarded as children of the deceased and inherit his name and part of his estate, since the woman belongs to the husband's kin group.

b) Other Iranians, Indians, etc.

C
563
177

Of the European peoples who have migrated in during the last century, only the Russians, as a ruling class, have exerted some influence on the spiritual life and the material possessions of the Caucasians; on the other hand, the Cossacks on the Kuban and Terek, as a result of friendly and hostile contact with the Cherkess, Abkhaz, and Tatars, have taken over much from them. [824] [Fig. 503 appears here.]

Of the Asiatic Indo-Germanic peoples, the Armenians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 398 ff.) have played an essential role in the intellectual development of the plains Georgians (see p. 675 [untranslated]), and the physical relationship or admixture of the two, or to put it better, mixture of the native basic stock of the Near East with southern and eastern indigenous Caucasians, up to the Chechen in the northeast, appears visibly in many places (see pp. 31 f.).

As far as the Iranians are concerned, the Kurds (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 400 ff.) certainly came into contact with the Georgians relatively late and in any case have neither experienced any influence from them nor exerted any on them, or at most on their Gurian neighbors. The sect of the Yezid, who stand close to the Kurds in many respects, even with regard to their religious teachings, has settled in a few places in southernmost Caucasia (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 403 f.).

It is quite another matter with regard to the Persians (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 405 ff.), who, in part directly through trade or settlement, in part indirectly through Armenia, and later

[824 cont.]

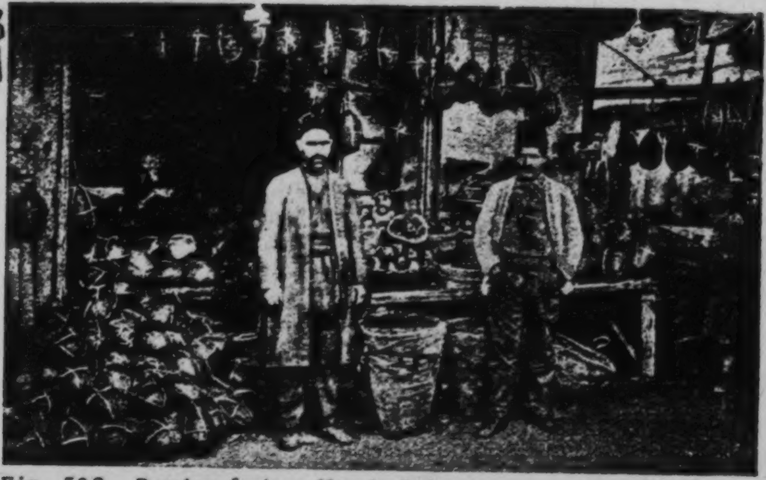
443 291 

Fig. 503. Persian fruit-seller in Baku.

563 [177] through the Tatars, have exerted a strong influence from the earliest times on southern and eastern Caucasia with regard to mental culture, art, warfare, etc. As a landmark of their power, the great stone wall, which extends from the national portal on the Caspian Sea, from the city [825] of Derbend [103] (Persian = gate-lock; Tatar, Demír-kapű = iron door; Arabic, Bāb-el-abwāb = gate of gates), to the west 60 to 70 kilometers into the mountains, still stands today. It was erected by the Sassanid king, Khosrau Anǒšarvān (531-579 A.D.), for protection against the invasions of the Khazar and Alan, against whom his father, Kobad (491-531), had already built a wall [712] of mud bricks that was strengthened by many towers and small citadels (kalé). Except for indigenous tribes, Khosrau entrusted the defense of the wall primarily to Iranian settlers whom he had brought over from Persia and the land of Sogd, that is Kharezmia and Samarkand. The inhabitants of the Kaitakh region, the Tabassaran, seem to be descendants of these settlers, and their name may be a contraction of Tabor-i-Khorassan (= host, people from Khorassan); likewise the Tāt between Baku, Kuba, and the Babadagh and near Derbend. The former may have sprung from a mixture of Lezgin with

Caucasia RH1

[825 cont.]

Iranians (cf. p. 674 f. [untranslated]) and accordingly are called by the Tatar āzade khalkh' or khelaiq (= free people), as are all Lezgin, in contrast to the Tāt, who are called raiyat khelaiq (= subject people). Their name is related to that of the central Asian Tajik (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 412 ff.), and their language is close [Fig. 504 appears here] [826] to modern Persian; it is also spoken by the mountain Jews in Dagestan and on the Terek. In their old cemeteries and near their villages there are isolated ruins of buildings that indicate Christianity in former times. Their relatives, the Talysh in humid, hot Lenkoran on the Caspian Sea, surrounded by Azerbaijani and Tatars, speak another variety of modern Persian that is supposed to contain much Old Persian. 563 [172]

As late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a remnant of the Old Persians, adherents of the teachings of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, the Geber, lived on the plain of Surakhane or Ateshga (= fire-land) near Baku, where a temple stood, in which they worshiped the eternal fire fed by a natural gas source. They had moved here from Persia after they had been driven from there and their main temple on the mountain near Yesd destroyed; they gradually

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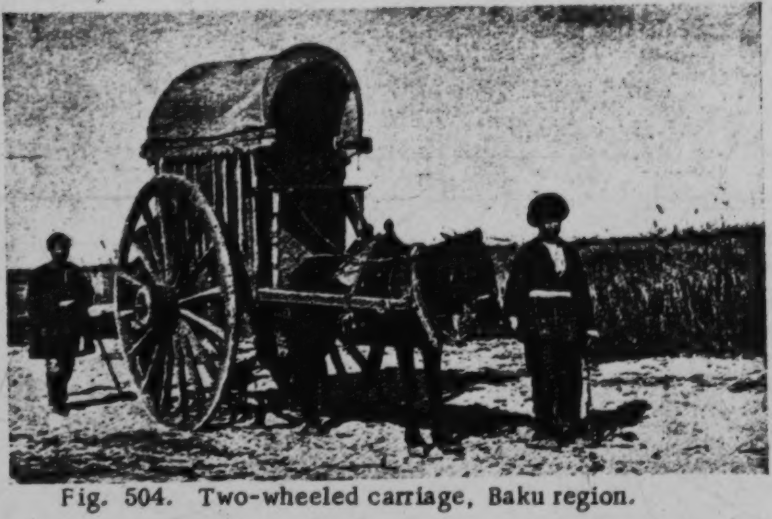

Fig. 504. Two-wheeled carriage, Baku region.

Caucasia RH1
Tat RK5
Mountain Jews

C
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[826 cont.]

died out, and Hindu-speaking coreligionists finally took their place as guardians of the shrine.

The few Gypsies who wander about southern Caucasia and are called Armenian Gypsies (Boša) are also of Indic origin; their language is West Armenian in structure, and the vocabulary is from various sources.

5. Semitic Peoples

The sect of the Nestorians or Chaldeans (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 404 f.) has a few settlements in the Karay steppe on the Kura and in Tiflis; they immigrated from Persia, from which they had been expelled in 1827. The Persians called them Nasran, the Armenians, Aissor; they speak Persian, but Aramaic is used for religious services. The women's dress resembles that of the Yezid (see Vol. II, 1, Fig. 270).

The Arabs, who penetrated into Caucasia in the eighth century and settled there -- Muslimeh ben Abdul Malik, who came to Derbend in 733, is supposed to have settled 24,000 (?) Arab families from Syria and from Mesopotamia in Tabassaran -- have merged completely with the Lezgin and Chechen (see p.31). From time to time, however, one meets people who still boast of their Arabic descent.

[827]

Mountain Jews

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The number of mountain Jews (Dagh-Tšufut) is supposed to come to about 30,000 (or 120,000 including those Jews who have immigrated from Russia in the last decades). In southern
T
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Caucasia they speak Georgian, in the east and north, Tatar.

T
175
In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., after the revolution caused by the Iranian invasion, or the so-called Babylonian captivity, members of this people, called Hebrews and Israelites in Palestine, which clearly arose from Near Easterners with a Semitic strain in north Syria, settled farther north in Armenia

2: Byhan--100 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

TAT RK5
Mountain Jews

[827 cont.]

175 and Asia Minor, where, during the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A D , they played a definite role. They are traceable in inscriptions in the Greek-Scythian cities of south Russia from 100 B.C. to 300 A.D., and it is not impossible that the Karaim (see p. 869 [untranslated]) are in part descendants of these Jews.

175 Another branch of this people settled in Persia or Media
177 and mixed with Iranians there. From there they spread farther along the west coast of the Caspian Sea and apparently about 750 A.D., in part as prisoners of war, reached the Khazar, among whom at that time there were not only heathens, but also Mohammedans (cf. the situation in old Turfan, see Vol. II, 1, p. 345). Some of the Khazar were induced by them to turn to Judaism (others were converted to Christianity toward the middle of the ninth century), and the Jews gained so great an influence that the Khagan accepted their religion a hundred years later, and his kingdom was afterwards considered Jewish until it was destroyed by the Varing, Svyatoslav of Kiev, in 966.

175 After the middle of the eighth century a larger host of
131 these Jews, who had settled in Media and had adopted the Iranian
197 language there, immigrated in the wake of the Arabs into
167 Dagestan and Chechnya, where a number of place-names with an added tšufut (= Jewish) still attest to their presence there at one time. Those who remained behind in Media are supposed to have later become Mohammedans, and allegedly the Tāt arose from them (cf. above, p. 97). Most of the Tāt-speaking Jews who migrated into the Caucasian mountains live in Majalis in the Kaitakh district, south of Batalpashinsk, on the Kuban and on the Terek in the vicinity of Baku, and the Georgian-speaking ones in the Yelizavetpol district.

144 [828] Physically, the mountain Jews resemble the north Caucasians more than they do the European Jews, the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. They have a slender, medium-tall to tall
142 figure, broad shoulders, prominent cheekbones, aquiline nose, dark-brown skin color, black hair and eyes, and profuse beards. The women have an oval face with more delicate features and of lighter color, a pointed nose, narrow shoulders, and long, black hair.

2: Byhan--101 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
TAT RK5
Mountain Jews

[828 cont.]

291 The men wear the Cherkess costume, which is widespread
[171] in the Caucasus: [Fig. 505 appears here] shirt with stand-up
collar (bešmet), long cloth coat without a collar and with cartridge-pockets on the breast, narrow belt with silver or gold
[411] trimmings, from which a dagger hangs in front in a silver or
leather sheath, fur cap, trousers, leggings, and light leather shoes or mountain shoes fitted with iron.

[142]
[300]

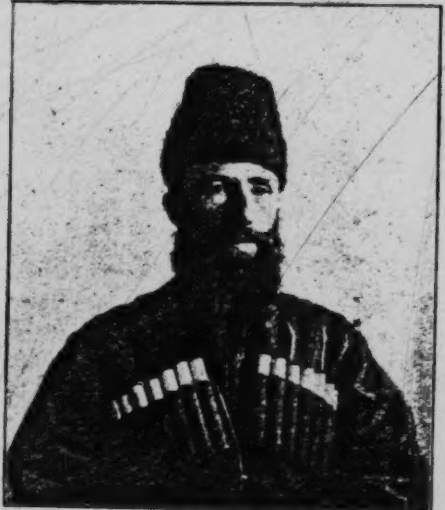

Fig. 505. Mountain Jew. (Photo. E. N. Adler.)

The women's dress consists of a shirt, full trousers of silk or cotton material, satin dress with gold trimming sewed on it, which is quilted in winter, sack-shaped cap open on both sides (cf. p. 873 [untranslated]), woolen stockings, and pointed shoes of red or yellow leather. For ornaments they have large
301 earrings with little pierced balls (cf. Fig. 472, 4)[1] and many
finger-rings, and in addition the girls wear breast-pendants of
302 coins, coral, amber, rock-crystal, etc.; they color their hair
and nails brown with khna or henna (see Vol. II, 1, p. 353),
515 used throughout the Orient, and care for their teeth by chewing
aromatic resin (sikis).

[1] [see category 116, p. 57--Analyst]

2: Byhan--102 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Tat RK5
Mountain Jews

[828 cont.]

342 The dwellings, like the Lezgin houses, are buried partly
in the earth on slopes, built of stones, plastered with mud, and
whitewashed on the inside and on the front side. The flat roof
consists [829] of beams and a covering layer of reed, straw, and
mud, and rests on a crossbeam which is supported by a carved
pillar; it projects two meters in front and forms a front porch.

[574] Usually the houses contain men's quarters, women's quarters,
and a guest-room. The latter is carpeted with rugs, weapons
352 hang on the walls, and decorative vessels stand on wall-shelves.
415 In the women's room, on one wall near the door and window, there
[354] is a cooking-hearth, and on the adjoining wall there are all kinds
of tableware on shelf-boards behind a curtain; across the room there
[262] are clay vessels, up to two meters high, for wine, flour, and
[312] dried fruit, sacks of grain, dung-cakes, and firewood, and on
the fourth wall the bedding lies on boards resting on stones, and
[262] under them there are vessels for milk, butter, and cheese.

The mountain Jews engage principally in agriculture
241 (wheat, barley, rice, tobacco, vegetables, fruit, and wine);
[386] formerly, before the introduction of synthetic dyes, they also
made considerable profit from the cultivation of madder. Few
231 animals are kept, usually only buffalo because of their rich milk,
and donkeys because of their capacity for work. Those who live
463 in the towns are merchants, peddlers, etc.

The division of labor among men and women is the usual:
462 the man performs the harder agricultural and domestic work,
while the woman is obliged to take care of the household, the
animals, and the ligher field-work. Neighbors and the young
476 people of the village help at many tasks, such as house-building
251 and drying and salting the meat that is hung in pieces or as
sausages from the ceiling in the women's room as provisions for
the winter.

574 Extensive hospitality is a solemn duty for them. When a
guest arrives, they drop all work, call in distinguished men
from the village, and entertain everyone amply with food and
[534] drink, during which there is also music with the harmonica and
tambourine (tepa, a wooden cylinder with hide stretched over
000 one side. As appetizers, flat cakes, salt, onions, leeks, etc.

504 [262] [829 cont.] As appetizers, flat cakes, salt, onions, leeks, etc. are placed inside the ring of squatting guests, and then, after the hands are washed, the main courses: meat dishes, usually roasted on a spit (šašlyk, khinkal, durma, see pp. 43 and 73), rice with meat (plov, oš), groats-gruel, etc. The head of the house tears the meat apart with his hands and lays it before the guests. [264] Solid foods are eaten with the fingers or with an eating-stick, liquids with a spoon.

592 The men customarily have a coreligionist or a Moslem in other villages as an intimate friend, with whom they can find shelter, and he often becomes their kinsman (kurdaš); they kiss [830] one another, exchange weapons, and promise to assist one another in case of need.

620 Blood vengeance is also still a law among them.

682 If, however, the kin group of the person murdered cannot take vengeance on a member of the kin group of the murderer within three days, the village elders try to reconcile them and to determine the wergild (100 to 600 rubles). If the murdered person's people consent, then the members of the enemy kin-group go to their house to ask forgiveness on their knees, and the former accept them as blood-relatives through a kiss. The murderer, however, is exiled to a distant village for one or one and a half years and after that is also acknowledged as a blood-relative.

583 Marriage is arranged by the fathers, and the groom must pay a rather high price (at least 150 rubles) for the chosen girl, who is usually thirteen to fourteen years old, as well as the expenses for her wedding-gown and for the celebration.

585 The wedding usually lasts from Sunday to Wednesday evening and generally takes place in winter, because there is still enough wine left at that time to last through the numerous rounds of drinks during the days of celebration. A feast is held on Sunday evening, to which a girl and a youth is invited from every house, and they form the retinue of the bridal couple. On Monday the boys elect the best man from among themselves, a "shakh" and a "vezir," and amuse themselves, as also on the following day, with dancing, games, music, and drinking. [431] [793] On Tuesday the wedding gifts are handed over, the rabbi records them, and the women of the village are entertained in the groom's house.

TAT RK5
Mountain Jews

[830 cont.]
585 grooms house. On the same evening the bride is led to the
bath by her friends, and her wedding finery is put on her. The
bridegroom is taken to the bath at noon on Wednesday, and
afterwards he presents himself to the bride's parents, whose hands
and feet he kisses, and they give him their daughter. The couple
then go with their retinue to the synagogue, into the yard of
which the bride is carried in the arms of a relative. Here the
marriage ceremony is performed under a canopy by the rabbi,
who, after the groom has placed the ring on the bride's finger
and put a silver coin into her hand, reads the marriage contract,
says prayers, and gives them wine to drink out of a glass, which
he then smashes on a stone under the canopy. On the way home
[789] flour and wheat and barley grains are poured over the young
couple (fertility magic), and before the evening feast, in which
[431] the whole village participates, the guests hand over contributions
of money which are announced and recorded. After midnight
the young couple retire into the bridal chamber, the door of
which is guarded by a friend. After three hours the young husband
appears again, and the women join the newly married girl,
while the youths of the escort fire shots. The young wife offers
each girl a glass of wine, which is given back with a coin. The
youths are presented with cloths and the like by the bride's mother,
who stays with the newly-wed woman and her sisters [831] for
nine days in order to console and advise her. On the tenth day
there is another family feast, and then the young married people
are "set free" to begin their married life. For three or four
months the young wife may not take off the veil with which she
was covered before the wedding and may not leave the house.

586 If the wife is quarrelsome or ages too soon, the man may
587 take another one. If the man dies, his younger brother must
marry the widow.

849 When giving birth, the woman stands or kneels and holds
on to one of the cords hanging down from the ceiling; there
is always a midwife present, and the women of the village
851 bring her all kinds of food. If the newborn is a boy, the event
is celebrated with a feast; if it is a girl, no one bothers about
000 the mother and child. After eight days the boy is circumcised

Tat RK5
Mountain Jews

852 [831 cont.] After eight days the boy is circumcised in the synagogue by the rabbi or the butcher; the godfather, sitting in the "chair of the Prophet Elias," holds the child for [551] this, while the father prays and gives it a name, his own or that of a relative. Girls are named after a strong animal or a noble metal. The mother stays in bed nine or ten days and takes a 846 bath after 40 days if she has given birth to a boy, or after 60 days if she has given birth to a girl.

764 When someone dies, all the inhabitants of the village drop their work and hurry to the house of the dead. The women come wrapped in a white cloth and wear yellow slippers as a sign of mourning, begin the mourning wail, scratch themselves with their nails, and pull their hair. The body is washed and dressed in a shirt, trousers, stockings, cap, and gloves, over which are also put the prayer-coat (sysit), the shroud, and a belt -- all of white linen. Then it is carried to the cemetery and buried in the grave without a coffin, the head facing east; the grave is covered with boards and earth. A memorial stone bearing an inscription giving the date of death, the virtues of the departed, 765 and some sayings from the prophets is erected on it. During the week of mourning (ovil) the relatives remain in the house, where the men read selections from the Holy Scriptures in the morning and evening, while the women mourn and weep for the dead, and on the seventh day the funeral feast (khairat) is prepared. Mourning lasts [832] for one year, and during this time the relatives may neither bathe nor take part in amusements. Every Monday and Friday they mourn together, and for eleven months, in the synagogue, the parents or the children of the deceased say the prayer for the peace of his soul (kadiš); 769 then the gravestone is set, and every year a memorial feast is celebrated on the anniversary of the death.

761 [776] According to the belief of the mountain Jews, death is caused by the Angel of Death, who smites the dying man with his sword or drips three drops of poison into his mouth from its 775 [864] point. The soul floats over the dead body and, when the body is carried out of the house, is threatened by evil spirits which the people try to appease with silver coins thrown high into the air. Then the soul flies to heaven, and after seven days, during which

[832 cont.]

775 time it may still return to earth, it is judged by God. The conception of this judgment corresponds by and large with the portrayal in the Bible. Sinners go to hell or are condemned to wander for a thousand years, during which time the soul enters the bodies of various animals and suffers tortures until it is accepted in[1] where, as in Dante's description, it is tortured and thereby purified of sin, and then it may join the good souls in paradise. Hell, which is under the earth, is joined to paradise by a glowing wire over the seventh heaven, from which the soul plunges if it is still laden with sins; it can successfully make the crossing only when it is completely purified.

346 The prayer-houses are large halls with windows in three walls; on the windowless west wall there is a cabinet, the "ark [778] of the Law," in which lie the scrolls of the Holy Scriptures with their silver wrappings hung with little balls and an altar-table, [796] at which the rabbi reads Hebrew prayers during servives. In the middle of the hall there is a desk where he preaches on Mondays, 782 Thursdays, and Saturdays. The mountain Jews turn to the west while praying. Women may not enter the synagogue itself, at 794 most the vestibule, and their religious duties are confined to only 567 three: to set out two small wax candles on Friday evening, to 788 throw a dab of dough into the fire while baking bread and say a 252 prayer at the same time, and to take a bath during the two weeks 841 following menstruation.

776 Besides Jehovah and the religion based on the Bible, the [777] Talmud, and the Mishna, they believe in the dominion of nature-gods and spirits that are far more tangible to human beings than the incomprehensible "one God." These deities resemble those [177] of other Caucasian tribes, and this, together with other indications, shows that the mountain Jews have mixed heavily with indigenous Caucasians, if the latter do not [833] actually constitute their substratum; in any case, in this respect they stand in strong contrast to the Lezgin, among whom Islam, introduced much later, seems to have displaced the old native beliefs and cult almost completely. The gods and spirits are invisible, but several may assume human or animal form, for example, Ileh-Novi (= Elias), god of riches, who appears as a poor wanderer or

[1] [the word "hell," should appear here -- Analyst]

TAT RK5
Mountain Jews

[833 cont.]

776 as a white ghost with a long beard, and Num-Negir (= he whose
name may not be uttered), appearing as a white marten, the god
of fertility and the protector of travelers. The water-goddess
Ser-ovi, or "water-mother" Ledey-Ov (cf. p. 27), watches by
the waters as a white virgin, so that people may not sully them;
she attempts to lure young men to her in order to drown them
and torments unprotected women in childbirth and rips out their
[301] entrails; she is afraid of iron, however, and therefore the moun-
[789] tain Jews wear steel finger-rings. Shehadu, the evil one, lives
with his many subjects and their wives and children in the earth;
they resemble people, but have horns and a tail like the devil,
broad feet and hands with six fingers armed with claws, crooked
mouths, and curved molars. Shehadu sends them out to ravish
mortal women, to make men mad, possessed (šehaduni), and to
strangle those who pour hot water on the ground. Invisible deities
are: Semirey, Idor, Gudur-boi, and Kesen-boi. They pray to
Semirey, the god of rain and the storm, in a cemetery during a
[821] drought, and, when it rains, the children turn their skirts and
caps around and, dancing round-dances, sing a song requesting
more rain. In the "Night of Idor" (Šev-Idor) at the beginning of
[241] spring, Idor, god of the plant kingdom, is prayed to for a good
[262] harvest, and at the evening feast dried or salted fruits are eaten.
The gods of autumn and winter, Gudur-boi and Kesen-boi, are
no longer worshiped; their names are now used only by young
[796] boys in songs during processions at night between the new and the
full moon in November. Originating out of ancestor worship, the
[592] household spirit, Oshdeho-mar, who lives as a seven-headed snake
under the floor of the house, as among the Great Russians, is
himself invisible, but lets his sons be seen; he is the guardian of
the well-being of the family and honey is given to him.

796 The major festivals of the mountain Jews are Easter and
Purim, [834] the festival of Mordecai and Esther, which they
call Nissonu and Homonu. The women sew new clothes for these
days, clean and whitewash the house, and prepare nut-dishes, and
after the men have visited the prayer-house, everyone enjoys
himself on these holidays with feasting, drinking, visiting one
[574] another, gifts of eggs, and dancing. At the festival Kushchi, the

2: Byhan--108 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

TAT IK5
MOUNTAIN JEWS

[834 cont.] At the festival Kushchi, the

796 men spend the night until the seventh day, called Aravo, in the
[787] prayer-house reading the Psalms of David, while the young girls
remain at home telling fortunes, since on this night God deter-
mines the fate of everyone for the coming year. On a day in
[392] spring the young people build bonfires in front of the houses,
and the youths jump through the fire in the evening; it is be-
lieved that on this night Christ descends to earth to strike the
Jews with all the harm possible, but that he spares the houses
with a fire burning in front of them.

771 Despite the occurrence of much that is non-Jewish in their
religious life, they are zealous followers of the Jewish faith and
occupy themselves with detailed study of the Talmud. They
871 therefore consider European schooling useless and harmful, and
[874] there are only a few schools among them for training rabbis and
butchers.

753 For sickness, which is caused by evil spirits, they turn to
756 sorcerers (khakum) for help.

In order to determine whether an "evil wish" has caused
755 sickness, flour is thrown at the wall, and if it sticks there, this
[787] assumption is regarded as correct. The man who has wished evil
is identified by means of pellets of bread thrown into the fire as
names are uttered; if one of them jumps back out, it indicates
the name of the wicked one. He is then asked for some spittle
with which to rub the face and shoulders of the sick person, and
the sick person is also given the pellet that sprang out of the
fire, after it is rubbed with water.

When a child has cramps, it is believed that Num-negir
[753] is choking it because he has angered his parents, and a
sorceress is consulted; the child is passed through a tripod, held
out the window or door, or shut in a box in order to release it
751 from the god's grasp. In order to ward off diseases, amulets
(heykel), triangular pockets of cloth or leather, into which are
put grass and stones wrapped with thread, are hung around the
neck or sewed under the armpit or on the back in the outer gar-
757 ment. Various herbs are used for medicine, as well as oils, salts,
[825] mutton, meat from bats, hedgehogs, rats, the blood of black and
white birds, etc.

2: Byhan--109 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

Caucasia RH1
Kumyk RH7

[835]

6. Turkic Peoples

C 563 Among the Turkic-Tatar peoples in the Caucasus who have not mixed intimately with Caucasians, there are the Azerbaijani Tatars in the Persian cultural sphere (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 396 ff.) and the Tarakamá, the Karapapakh, and the Turks near Batum and Kars in the Ottoman-Kurdish sphere (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 385 ff. and pp. 400 ff.). The Trukhmen and the Mongolian Kalmyk in the northern steppes have preserved the essential peculiarities of their fellow tribesmen beyond the Caspian Sea (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 342 ff.) and in the Altai region (see Vol. II, 1, pp. 364 f.).

a) The Mountain Tatar

K 101 The Karachai and the mountain Kabardin or Taulu stand in the same relation to the Old Caucasians as do the mountain Jews. The Karachai live west of the Elbrus (Mingi-tau) on the source streams of the Kuban, which surround the Uchkulan (= three belts), up to the Teberda. In the east their neighbors are the Kabardin and Taulu, in the south, the Swan, in the north, Russians and the Abkhaz; to the west and southwest there are uninhabited mountain ranges. They appear to have obtained their name from a stream (karačai = black brook), not from an ancestor, Karacha. The Cherkess call them Karšaga-Kuš'a, the Georgians, Karatšioli, the northern Tatar, Kara-Tšerkes (likewise the Georgians in the Middle Ages: Kara-Džik'i; their country, Kara-Džakhet'i), that is, subjects of the Cherkess.

K 179 177 According to tradition, they immigrated from the Crimea about four centuries ago, but they are probably descendants of the Tatars who were driven out of the Kuban region by the Cherkess and fled into this avowed retreat area; here they mixed with refugees from Svanetia, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia, and with K 648 Cherkess. They paid tribute to the Kabardin before they came under the domination of the Russians in the thirties of the last century.

2: Byhan--110 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Kumyk RH7

[835 cont.]

648 Their eastern neighbors, the Taulu, were also dependent on the Kabardin. They undoubtedly descended from those 174 Tatars who lived in the steppes on the Kuma in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and had been pushed back into the mountain valleys after the destruction in 1408 of their great city Majar (which has nothing to do with the Hungarians, the Magyar) on the left bank of the Kuma, which was rich in [836] [Fig. 506 appears here] majestic buildings (therefore also called Kyrk-madžar = forty buildings), and in which the powerful Khan Mamai (died 1380) had his residence. The Taulu (= mountain 101 folk) are usually designated as mountain Tatar or mountain Kabardin; the Cherkess call them by the names of the individual tribes Tšegem-Kuš'a, Balkar-kuš'a, etc.; the latter are known among the Georgians as Bassiani.

142 The Karachai are noted for their delicate features and white skin; in any case very little of the Mongolian appears in their faces, which much more show the characteristics of the south Caucasians (Figs. 506 and 507). Like the Taulu, they have black eyes and hair and are medium-tall; the latter are supposed to have dark skins and scantier beards. The women are thick-set, muscular, and not as beautiful as their Kabardin neighbors.

291 The men's dress is Cherkess, and that of the women is similar to the Kabardin: full trousers, a red shirt slit on both sides to the hips, silver belt, bodice, and one or two outer dresses (bešmet) with narrow or full lower [837] sleeves, decorated with silver edging, buttons, etc. The girls cover their heads with the Kabardin cap (see Fig. 446); the women wind a colored cloth around it several times and let the ends hang down on both sides, or they put a short, white veil over it as well.

411 [714] Their weapons are the usual ones; formerly they also had shields (kalkan) and two types of javelin (sungé, mudžurá).

342 The houses (see Figs. 508-512) are built of beams, or of granite and slate among the Balkar, and usually have a small, open porch in front. Among the Taulu, as among the Lezgin, the roof is flat and made out of beams, twigs, and mud; the

2: Byhan--111 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Kumyk RH7

[837 cont.]

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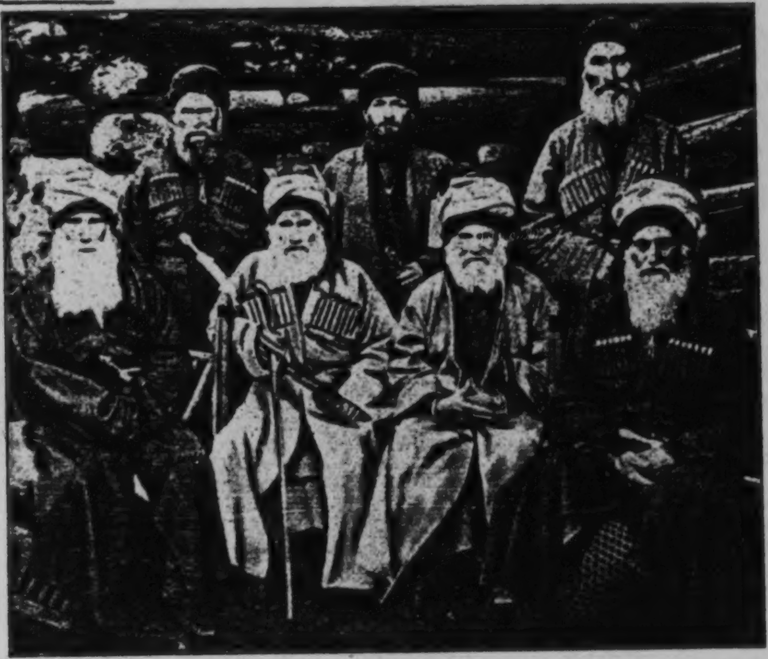

Fig. 506. Karachai from Kart-Jurt on the upper Kuban. (From Count J. Zichy.)

342 Karachai have gabled roofs covered with straw, and the three lengthwise beams are supported on an arc-shaped crossbeam. Usually the houses contain only one room with small window-
[354] slits and a low door; the hearth with the chimney and kettle-hook is at one of the mud-plastered walls, which are hung with
[352] clothes, weapons, horns, felt rugs with decorations sewed on them, etc. Occasionally a defense-tower rises beside the
712 house. [Fig. 507 appears here.]

233 Economy. They engage principally in raising black fat-tailed sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys, and formerly swine; they keep cattle to a lesser extent.

[221] They graze their animals in the Kabardin lowlands in the winter, and in the summer in the mountain-pastures, where
[342] the herdsmen put up emergency huts: three or four poles and a piece of felt on top (koš). The fields are carefully fenced in

2: Byhan--112 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 ~~Abkhaz~~
Kumyk RH7

[837 cont.] The fields are carefully fenced in
241 and irrigated, but the yield is small, since only limited areas of
poor land are available, on which barley, millet, wheat, maize,
beans, and potatoes are cultivated.

439 [838] Their domestic products are: cloths (šal), felt rugs
[286] (kiis), heavy coats (yamatšč), rain-hoods (bašlyk), saddles and
[287] shoes of wild-goat leather, and goat-hair rugs. They take these
[291] products, as well as tobacco and the skins of bears, wolves,
[292] martens, foxes, wildcats, bezoar goats, etc., to Sukhum,
[237] Batalpashinsk, or to the Racha and to Oni in Imeretia and in
[249] return bring back textiles, copperware, rock-salt, etc., all on
[Fig. 508 appears here] horses or, to the extent that there are
[293] roads, on small two-wheeled wagons with felt roofs. They also
313 practice log-rolling as a secondary occupation.

The food consists primarily of bread, milk, cheese (bišlik),
262 butter, mutton, and horsemeat. Favorite dishes are: mutton,

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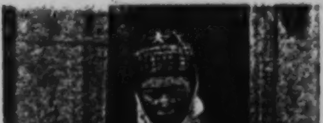

Fig. 507. Karachai woman. (Photo
E. W. Pfizenmayer.)

262 either boiled or cut into small pieces and roasted on sticks over
[252] the fire (šišlik), or prepared with sour milk, garlic, and spice
herbs (šurpá), the head and brains of sheep, ram roasted on a spit
and Cornel berries in honey.

Kumyk RI7

[838 cont.]

000 and cornel berries in honey. Drinks: kefir, beer from barley
273 (sra) and from millet (boza), brandy from barley and wheat,
[272] and lemonade from Beberitzen [?].

565 Society. The Karachai are divided into three stand-
ings, like the Cherkess: princes (bi), noblemen (ōzden),
[793] and peasants (azat), aside from the many clergymen
[567] (mullah) and the former [839] slaves. [Fig. 509 appears
[608] here.] When a prince had sons by slave-girls or maids, he

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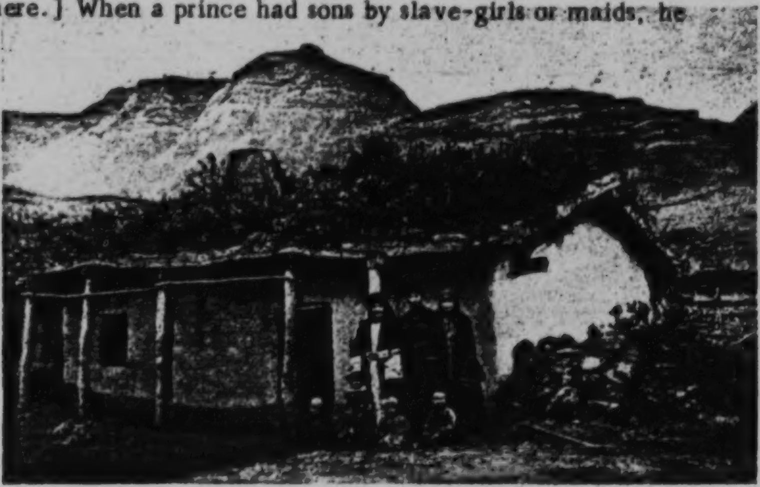

Fig. 508. Dwelling, Karachai.

565 gave them to a foster-father for rearing (cf. pp. 19 f.), and
[608] after his death they had the same rights as their legitimate
brothers.

595 The marriages of the Karachai, who usually take only
585 one wife, are performed by the clergyman and usually are
589 rich in children. The engagement takes place quite a while,
163 up to a year, before the wedding, and during this time the
groom may not see the bride and also may not speak to her
591 parents. After a few months of married life together, the
585 young wife returns to her parents, often for one or two years,
and the husband visits her there; during that time she may
not appear unveiled before her male relatives. Abduction of
583 brides still occurs with an understanding [Fig. 510 appears
here] [840] with the girl or her parents, but the bride price
must be paid afterwards.

2: Byhan--114 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Kumyk RH7

[840 cont.]

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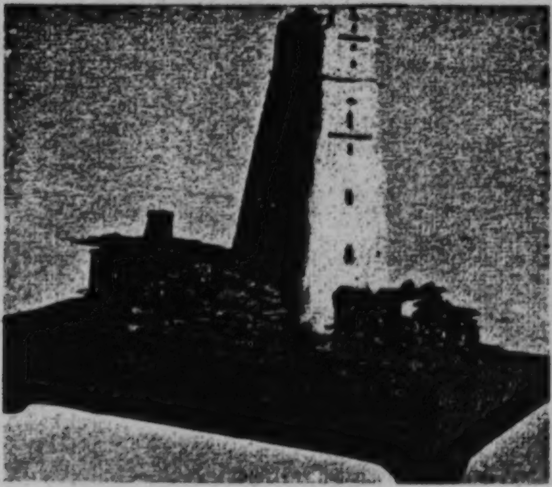

Fig. 509. Balkar house with defense tower in the style of Mountain Georgian architecture. Cherek valley. (Model in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

865 The rearing of the boys is strict. If one is constantly disobedient, he is admonished publicly in front of the mosque (mezdžét), and, if he remains incorrigible, he is expelled from the village.

764 Funeral obsequies also take place among the Karachai amidst the mourning cries of the women, while the men

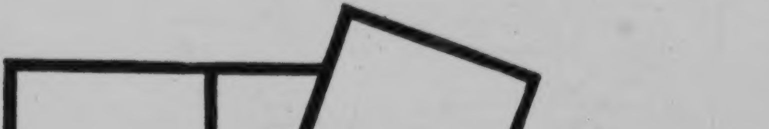

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Fig. 510. Floor plan for Fig. 509: left, dwelling with projecting roof; right, yard wall with gate; in the center, the defense tower. (From Count J. Zichy.)

764 [840 cont.]

[Fig. 511 appears here] strike their foreheads with a knout (see Fig. 451) and prick their ear lobes with a knife. The cemeteries are surrounded by stone walls. On the Teberda a rectangular structure of eight to twelve thick beams and in other places stone boxes or sharply arched gabled houses (cf. Fig. 474) are erected on the graves.

771 [777] 794 Islam was first spread among the Karachai by the Kabardin Izaak in 1782; they are now zealous Sunnites, keep the fasts, and no longer eat pork. The mullahs train the boys in the mosque until they are able to recite from the Koran (tokhtā). 799 The Balkar are said to have neither clergymen nor mosques. 793

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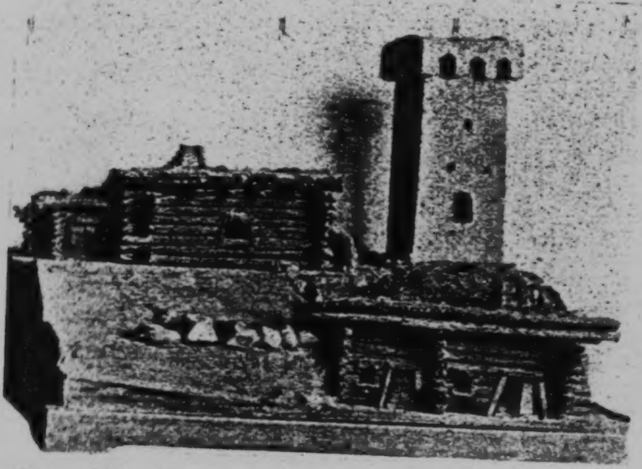


Fig. 511. Taulu farmstead in the Chegem valley, tower in the Swan style. (Model in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.)

346 Despite Islam they worship the old Turkic Tāgri as the highest god, and next to him St. Elias (nebi Iliya) as god of the mountains, 776 [Pl. 30 and 31 appear here] [841] in whose honor they dance, sing, and make offerings of lambs, butter, cheese, milk, and beer (cf. p. 87). 782 Like other Caucasians they have sacred trees and springs (cf. p. 25) 778 and practice divination with the aid of barleycorns, beans, and stones, placing 41 in little piles in a certain order, or, like the Tatars, from the cracks in the shoulderblade of a sheep (see p. 28). 787

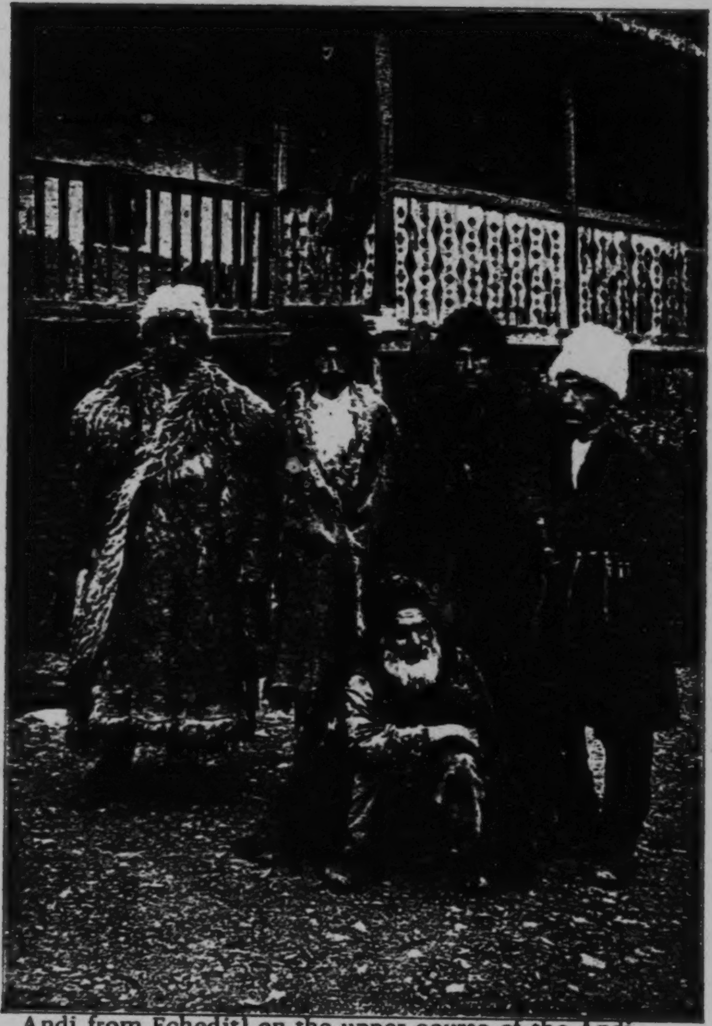
[See category 116, p. 60 --Analyst]

2: Byhan--116 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

Dagestan RH9

[840]

P1. 30



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Andi from Echeditl on the upper course of the Andi Koisu. (From M. v. Déchy.)

2: Byhan--117 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz.

Bashkir RF3

[840]

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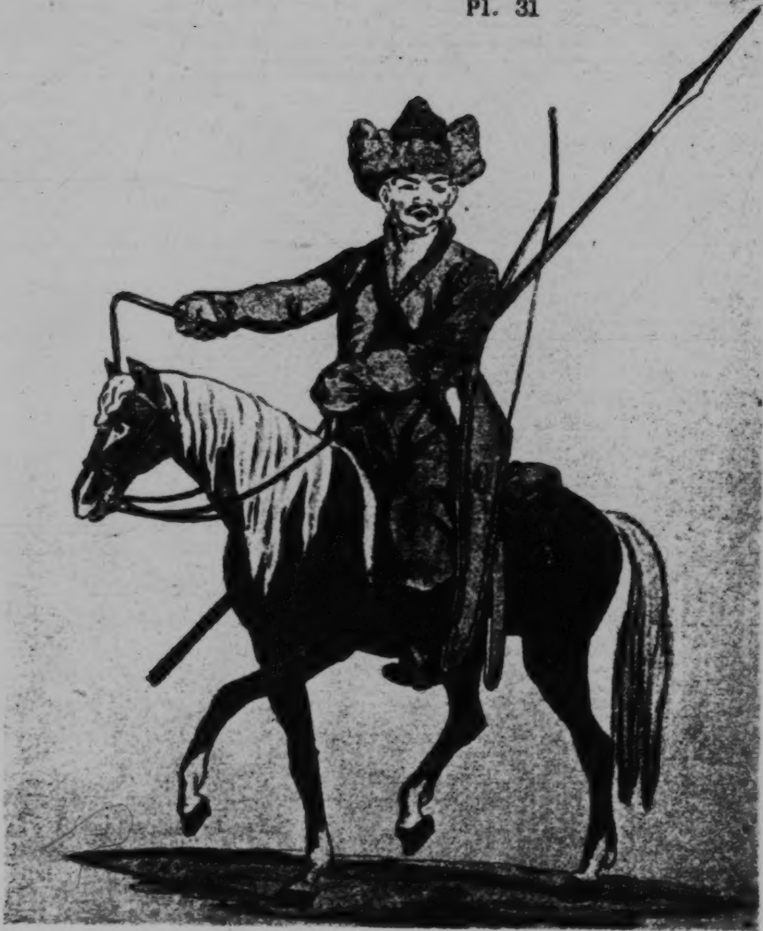
Pl. 31



Bashkir warrior. (Colored lithograph, Leipzig, 1813, in the Stadtgeschichtlichen Museum, Leipzig.)

Kumyk RH7

[841 cont.]

793 The clergymen occupy themselves with making amulets and
771 conjuring away illness (cf. Vol. II, 1, p. 358). There are few
remains of Christianity to be found in this area, only a few
346 churches, among which there is one six meters long near Chegem,
843 at which pregnant women sacrifice an animal in order to have an
easy delivery. [Fig. 512 appears here.]

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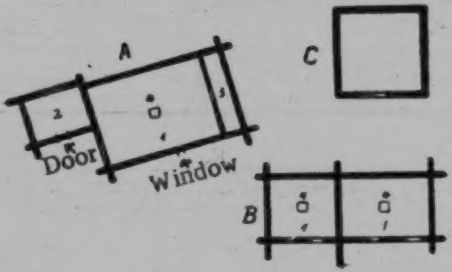

Fig. 512. Groundplan of a Taulu farmstead in the Chegem valley. A and B. Dwellings: 1, rooms; 2, vestibule for animals; 3, small room for supplies; 4, hearths with wooden flue. C. Defense tower. (From Count J. Zichy.)

b) The Kymyk

101 The Kymyk or Kumuk [Kumyk] (perhaps from Turkish
131 kym = mobile) inhabit the coastal lands between the Rubas-
chai and the Terek, the southern part of which, from Petrovsk
[133] and Chir-yurt, is taken up by the foothills of Dagestan, while
the northern part is a salt desert permeated by the many water-
courses, lakes, and swamps, overgrown with cane, belonging to
the Aksai in the river district of the Sulak and the lower Terek.

2: Byhan--119 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz
Kumyk RH7

[841 cont.]

175 The Kymyk are probably the descendants of a part of the [194] horde of Khan Mamai of Majar (see p. 110), who in turn presumably arose from the remnants of the Khazar combined with other Tatar tribes pushed ahead out of the east. The formation of the Khazar kingdom at the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh appears to be connected with the establishment of the Black Bulgars (Kara-Bolgar) on the Kuban in the fifth and sixth centuries. After the overthrow of the Khazar kingdom in 966 (see p. 99), the peoples who had composed it did not vanish completely, but drew back into less accessible regions, such as are offered by the steppes between the Volga, Kuma, and Terek, and were reinforced there by parts of the hordes which, during the third and fourth Turkish migrations (Kuman, Pecheneg, and true Tatars) [842] in the ninth and thirteenth centuries -- the latter together with Mongols under Genghis Khan in 1221 and under Tamerlane in 1395 -- had split off and came to a halt there, as is shown by the structure of the Majar realm, to which a piece of eastern Dagestan also belonged in the fourteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [148] the rulers of the Kymyk (Šambalá, later šamkhali, see p. 32) extended their kingdom to the south and made incursions into the territory of the Georgians, who therefore asked the Russians for help; the latter destroyed the seat of the Kymyk princes, Tarku, near Petrovsk, and since then the Kymyk have remained subject to the Russians. [Fig. 513 appears here.]

197 Their dialect is closely related to that of the Nogai, which confirms the above account, as does their physical constitution.

The Kymyk are rather tall (1.70), less for the women (1.45 142 to 1.60); the arms are long, the legs short. The skull is broad, the forehead high and usually straight, the mouth and ears are large, the lips thick, the nose broad and straight, and the cheekbones protrude. The hair is black and sleek, and the eyes are light brown, rarely gray or blue. Flat Mongolian noses occur very rarely; somewhat more frequently thin, occasionally somewhat arched, and also pointed noses are seen, as among the mountain Georgians. Near Eastern faces are also found, and occasionally Arabian.

[842 cont.]

181 The Kymyk are good-natured, peaceful, submissive, serious, and industrious; they maintain a proper, dignified bearing
515 and insist upon cleanliness. They are not zealots; they therefore
771 even marry their daughters to Shiites, although they have been
582 Sunnites since the thirteenth century.

Their dress is that common to the Tatars (cf. Vol. II, 1,
291 p. 387 and elsewhere). Girls plait their hair in eight to ten
302 braids, women in 21 to 24 (cf. p. 883 [untranslated]); a few
[177] color it red with khna after the Persian custom (cf. Vol. II, 1,
302 p. 374). More commonly the brows are blackened. As
301 adornment they have silver finger-rings and large, silver earpendants oxydized black, with little chains hanging from them (cf. p. 680, Fig. 472, Nos. 3 and 4 [in untranslated portion]).

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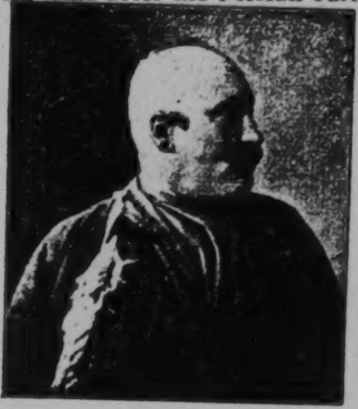

Fig. 513. Kymyk. (From Count J. Zichy.)

342 The houses are also built and furnished in Turkish-Tatar
[177] style (cf. Vol. II, 1, p. 388): work-rooms below, and, above, men's and women's quarters, whitewashed, each with a window
352 and a door, and an open veranda in front. In addition to Tatar-
177 Persian [843] implements, such as low, round or rectangular tables (tepsí, cf. Vol. II, 1, Fig. 233), decorated spoon-chests
415 (tšištakhá), copper plates (mešmañ), pilau-bowls (zené,
[854] serpítš), basting ladles (tšaltú), cradles, etc., Russian products
[439] have also gained entry, for example, samovars, the tea-service,
[252] mirrors, and iron stoves.

2: Byhan--121 E-4 (no date) 1926 RI3 Abkhaz

Kumyk RH7

[843 cont.]

226 Economy. They engage in fishing, animal husbandry,
23 bee-keeping, and recently a great deal in agriculture, which
24 requires artificial irrigation. They own herds of sheep and
233 horses (tabún) primarily. [Fig. 514 appears here.] The
491 riding equipment consists of bridoon and stock saddle (artšák).
To catch wild horses, they use a thin rope (arkán), one end
231 of which is fastened to a stake by a slipknot through which the

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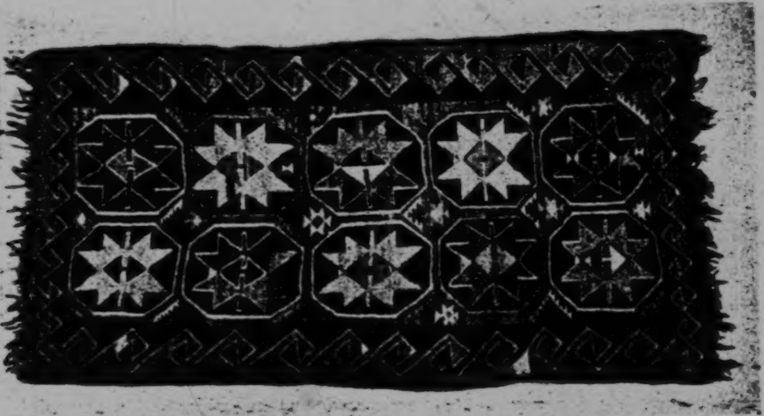

Fig. 514. Goat-hair rug, Kymyk. Colors: orange, brown, violet, light and dark green, yellow, and white.

231 rope runs and forms a noose. The mounted catcher slings it over the head of the wild horse and drags it to the ground; then the feet are bound together crosswise, the saddle put on, and the man goes off on the furiously kicking and bucking animal until it has become exhausted and permits itself to be ridden.

439 They used to trade most of their products, rugs (see Fig. 514), sheep wool, skins, livestock, salt, fish, etc., to Persia, in exchange receiving metal goods, silk and cotton materials, southern fruits, rice, spices, etc., which they often traded further to their Lezgin neighbors. The starting point of [844]
[103] this trade was their principal town, Tarku, and its port (now Petrovsk), to which the Lezgin also brought their products. The Kymyk exerted a great influence on this people through their trade, as well as through religious and political connections.

2: Byhan--122   E-4   (no date) 1926   RI3 Abkhaz

Kumyk RH7

[844 cont.]

000 trade, as well as through religious and political connections.

The Kymyk have the aristocratic social order of the
565 steppe peoples (cf. Kirgiz, Vol. II, 1, pp. 362 f.), with
princes and noblemen as leaders and rulers of the common
[567] people and the slaves, just as the Khazar were formerly divided
into Black and White.

535 Besides dances, of which one (varariš) resembles the
536 Lezgin dance and the other (bulká) is danced by poorer men or
[735] women begging for alms, musical dramas are popular among
them and are performed by youths and girls at weddings and
similar events: contests between boys and girls in teasing verses
533 (sarynd = raillery), or the "love-cane" (süydüm-tayák), in which
they strike one another on the shoulder with a staff and alternately sing satirical and amorous songs.